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SOUTH ASIAN AND (UNDOCUMENTED) LATINO/A IMMIGRANT BLOGGERS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THEIR ENGAGEMENT WITH IMMIGRATION DISCOURSES

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BY

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specifically thank Connie and Willow—you have been travelers alongside me on this journey from the beginning and we have become like sisters in the process.

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ABSTRACT

The overarching purpose of this project is to theorize how marginalized

communities engage with dominant discourses and to locate possibilities for agency in

contesting dominant representations of marginalized groups. I selected two discursive

events as instances of a larger U.S. immigration discourse—the enactment of SB 1070 in

Arizona and the publication of a column in *TIME Magazine* in which the author decries

the influx of South Asians to his hometown of Edison, NJ. I then modified critical

discourse analysis to examine weblog responses to these events by two diasporic

communities interpellated by them—(undocumented) Latino/a immigrants and South

Asian immigrants.

Drawing upon a theory of constitutive rhetoric, I look at ways that members of

these two groups are interpellated as subjects within their blogging communities.

Moreover, I examine how the collective subject negotiates various identifications through

a three-part diasporic identity framework consisting of structural, trans-spatial/historical,

and intergroup representational positionings. I also consider the implications of the

constitutive rhetoric for agency by interrogating how the blogs enable and constrain bloggers' abilities to speak about the discursive events.

In addition, I interrogate bloggers' constructions of U.S. immigration discourse, identifying four ideological claims both (re)produced and challenged by the bloggers: triumphal multiculturalism; American Dream mythology; the entitlement to rights; and normative standards of acceptability. I also use a postcolonial approach to discursive engagement that considers the production of alternate subjectivities through destabilizing of the subject/object relationship.

This project complicates our understanding of diasporic subjects as based on complex postcolonial subjectivities. This allows for an expanded notion of how collective subjects are constituted ontologically through the coming together of numerous points of identifications within a complex framework of diasporic identities. In addition, it links ontological status and epistemology by complicating the understanding of how and where subject positions arise, challenging assumptions of universal knowledge. Finally, it theorizes discursive engagement of members of marginalized diasporic groups by applying a dialectical perspective of agency and interpellated subjectivities and revealing how power operates through discourse to position subjects while identifying possible moments of agentic potential.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Immigration has been a crucial part of the construction of the United States as a nation, its history replete with narratives such as that of the Pilgrims who traveled from Europe on the Mayflower. As the breadth of migration expanded from parts of the world deemed "foreign" by the geo-political knowledge structures of the white Western world, the discourse of immigration emerged to position various immigrant groups in the United States within racialized hierarchies. Such positionings continue with significant repercussions for members of the U.S. polity.

The study of discourse—textual constructions as they relate to and interact with broader social structures to empower and disempower various subjects—has been a crucial development in communication studies to understand and analyze how subjects and subject positions are produced and reproduced as well as the extent to which subjects can and do challenge and re-articulate their identity positions within ideological systems. In this study, I focus on U.S. immigration discourse to understand the ways in which those subordinately positioned by such discourse respond to and engage with it, with an overarching goal of locating how agency may be exercised towards the contestation of discourses.

Statement of Problem

My approach to this study emerges at the contemporary intersection of critical rhetoric and cultural studies. The study of discourse, as it has emerged through cultural studies, has undergone significant developments in its recognition of notions of agency, struggle, contestation, and the contributions of heterogeneous voices. The Marxist approaches of such Frankfurt School scholars as Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, and

Theodor Adorno largely viewed public audiences as passive receptacles of ideological discourses produced by mass media institutions. While their views were influenced by the atrocities of Nazi Germany followed by their dismay at the contradictions between U.S. claims to democracy and its advancement of capitalism, the social revolutions of the 1960s helped create a shift away from such pessimistic thought. Later theorists such as Stuart Hall were influenced by Gramscian notions of hegemony, which suggests scope for and possibilities of ideological struggle brought about by some level of agency. If competing ideologies must work to achieve and maintain dominance, then spaces may exist for human action to somehow exert influence on that process.

The traditional study of rhetoric rested on an assumption of a unified, pre-constituted subject (often white, male, and privileged) publicly addressing a pre-constituted audience (see Bitzer, 1968), wherein the focus of analysis was on a discrete text, omitting broader notions of discourse or context in which the text existed. However, this approach has more recently been challenged by contemporary rhetoric's aims of understanding the articulation of ideological discourse and the ensuing fragmentation and production of subjects and subject positions (see Biesecker, 1989; Black, 1970; Charland, 1987; Wander, 1984), influenced by such scholars as Althusser and Foucault. McKerrow (1989) theorized the study of critical rhetoric, incorporating Foucault's (1978) theorization of power into rhetoric and arguing that the study of rhetoric should be about how symbols come to possess power. As Cloud and Gunn (2011) write in their detailed explication of the trajectory of ideological studies in the field of communication, "Foucault's influence on and importance to rhetorical studies cannot be understated, nor can the value of the immanent turn" (p. 414).

Consequently, both fields intersect at the point of critically analyzing issues of power, ideology, and the production of subjects. However, while McKerrow (1989) argued for a shift in the approaches of rhetorical analysis to consider a broader array of texts, as a discipline, contemporary cultural studies continues to focus primarily on the examination of institutionally-produced mediated texts to reveal how the ideologies found therein reproduce existent dominant socioeconomic and sociocultural structures. This goal of illuminating such ideological work is an important one that has contributed significantly to the understanding of discourse. Influenced as well by Foucauldian notions of power, such studies (see for example, Beltrán, 2002; Merskin, 2007; Paek & Shah, 2003; Signorielli, 2004; van Dijk, 1998; Yin, 2005) constitute an invaluable critique of ideology.

This trajectory within cultural studies, however, has also begun to move beyond the study of institutionally-produced texts via two major strands of contemporary research. The first is audience reception studies, made popular within the United States by Fiske (1987), in which ethnographic methods are used to understand how a particular audience interprets a media text. I argue that such studies (see, for example, Gray, 2007; Katz & Liebes, 1990; La Pastina, 2004; Rojas, 2004), albeit a useful development, maintain a dichotomy between text and audience that stops short of seeking out transformative potential. The breadth of these studies suggests further scope and need for theorizing specifically how groups positioned as subordinate do more than just interpret these discourses but actively participate in them, focusing upon ways in which subjects negotiate their identities and subjectivities within the ideological fields that produce them.

The second strand, and more relevant for the present project, involves the study of vernacular discourse (Ono & Sloop, 1995), which examines the daily interactions and discourse from within oppressed or marginalized communities. Vernacular discourse studies has also influenced the development of the theory of constitutive rhetoric (Charland, 1987), which has been used in the study of discourse of various marginalized and diasporic groups (Bacon, 2007; Drzewiecka, 2002; Stein, 2002). Building on these concepts, I contend that, by considering and analyzing the dynamic construction of discourses by those interpellated by them, we can better understand how marginalized communities construct an ontological status as a collective self through the comprehension of how they create varied subject positions. More importantly, I argue that such an approach can lead to the identification and theorization of greater avenues for contesting the ideological structures critiqued by critical cultural studies scholarship, taking critical cultural work to the next step of, not just identifying the need for transformation, but actually identifying the potential for it.

Furthermore, this study draws on and builds upon postcolonial theorists (Bhabha, 1994; Lugones, 2003; Yeğenoğlu, 1998) who suggest possibilities for the hybridization and destabilization of identities. Limiting postcolonial theory to "Third World" subjectivities sustains both the naturalized nation-state and the constructed binaries of East and West. Therefore, postcolonial theory has not been widely applied to diasporic groups in the United States. In this project, I argue that an exclusive emphasis on the "Third World" is problematic because postcolonial theory offers challenges to coloniality that can only be realized by emphasizing more complicated global structures and by highlighting the contradictions of neatly bounded, ahistorical, and stable structures

(Mohanty, 2003; Smith, 2002). Therefore, the strength of postcolonial theory can and should be harnessed towards examining and analyzing the ways in which diasporic subjects experience the interstitial spaces (Shome, 2003) constructed within the United States through the interplay of borders, migration, and the relevant discourses. Specifically, I argue that a postcolonial approach offers insight into ways that diasporic subjects in the United States negotiate agency by locating spaces for challenging and contesting the discourses that produce them.

Context of Study

In order to analyze the engagement of diasporic groups with discourses that position them within such interstitial spaces, I focus on the context of U.S. immigration discourse. In the contemporary sociopolitical context of the United States following the events of September 11, 2001 and the economic downturn that occurred thereafter, anti-immigrant sentiment has acquired renewed prominence. In addition to an overall increase in hate crimes against immigrants of color (see Love, 2009), 9/11 directly affected U.S. immigration policy. The visit of Mexican President Vicente Fox as U.S. President George W. Bush's first state visitor in early September 2001 had represented Bush's desire "to win over Latino voters" (Stephen, 2007, p. 149) by prioritizing immigration reform and providing undocumented immigrants a way to stay and work legally in the United States.

> Then, just days after President Fox left the country stating that there had to be a new immigration policy by the end of the year, the attack of 9/11 happened. Instead of an opening of U.S. immigration policy that would have the effect of legalizing those who are undocumented and perhaps finding ways to manage migration flows that are part of how an interconnected world functions, the response of many Americans has been to call for an increase in resources devoted to border control and increased enforcement of current immigration laws. (pp. 149-50)

The years since September 2001 have consequently seen a reproduction of immigration discourses that position immigrants as foreigners, invaders, and a threat to the nation, resulting in developments including—but not limited to—the Minuteman Project, an association of private individuals who patrol the U.S.-Mexico border, and the subsequent Border Defense Project (DeChaine, 2009). Such discourses were reinforced by the ensuing economic downturn of 2008. U.S. Congress has repeatedly failed to pass any substantial immigration reform laws that would adequately address the issues of undocumented immigrants or restructure the provisions of legal immigration in order to sufficiently meet the demands for entry into the United States. This failure to act has been despite the recurring prominence of immigration as a subject of political debate.

A substantial body of research has critically analyzed the construction of immigration discourse, particularly in the context of "illegal" immigration[1] from Mexico (see for example Cisneros, 2003; Flores, 2003; K. Chávez, 2009; K. Chávez, 2010; L. Chávez, 2008; Takacs, 1999; Thweatt, 2005). Attention has also been brought by scholars to the scapegoating of racially otherized immigrants during economic downturns. For example, Flores (2003) argues that the context of the Great Depression facilitated the shift in the construction of Mexican immigrants from "peons" to "illegals" and "criminals." However, aside from a few historical works (see for example Luibhéid, 2002; Ngai, 2004) along with important research on coalition-building between queer and migrant rights organizations (see K. Chávez, 2010), relatively little research has studied

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[1]In line with my goal of examining contemporary immigration discourse, I use the phrase "'illegal' immigration" throughout this paper precisely to capture the logic of the discourse and the positionings that it accomplishes. However, given the dehumanizing and racializing effects of the words "illegal," "alien," and "illegal alien," unless specifically and clearly referencing a prior usage, I always place the term "illegal" in quotation marks in order to problematize it. Moreover, I do not use any of those terms in this paper when referring to people, again, unless I am specifically and clearly referencing a prior usage, opting instead for the phrase "undocumented immigrant."

immigration discourse as one that subjugates across multiple immigrant communities. Such an approach can help identify and highlight key issues that span immigrant groups and can potentially form a basis for alliance-building towards transformation in immigration discourses and policies.

Moreover, relatively little research has focused on the specific responses of the objects of such immigration discourses—immigrants to the United States—as subjects. Some scholarship has looked at ways in which immigrants to the United States have historically overcome legal and structural barriers. For example, Pegler-Gordon (2009) explores ways in which Chinese immigrants, during the period of anti-Chinese immigrant sentiment, manipulated photographs to present themselves in a more positive light or took advantage of racial ambiguities to "pass" as Mexicans in order to cross the U.S.-Mexico border. Takaki (1989) also discusses how Asian Indian immigrants, upon revocation of their rights to U.S. citizenship and consequently land ownership, made arrangements with white associates that enabled their continued possession of their lands. These analyses are useful in explicating how members of immigrant groups have exercised limited agency within their constrained positions.

At the same time, there is a need to move that dialogue forward as well towards ways that members of immigrant groups more actively contribute to and affect the actual discourses that position them. An example of such work can be found in Camacho's (2008) study of Mexican migrants, which focuses on songs, poetry, and other cultural forms that they produce:

> Cultural forms are not a reflection of the social, or merely detached "set of ideas," but rather the means by which subjects work through their connections to a larger totality and communicate a sense of relatedness to a particular time, place, and condition. (p. 5)

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She argues that a search for self-representation by immigrant communities can both

reveal ways in which they "have resisted and exploited their interpellation as non-

national subjects. . . . [and] carry forward their desires for justice and preserve the

integrity of their communities" (p. 12). Therefore, this project attempts to answer that call

for exploring self-representations of immigrants as active producers of and participants in

immigration discourses in ways that reveal their subject positions as well as their agentic

potential.

While U.S. "immigrants" are those who specifically migrate to the United States

from a different nation-state, I use the term to include those subjects who live in the

United States as members of diasporic communities. The term "diaspora" was initially

used to refer to people who are forcefully displaced but desire to return to their homeland

(Drzewiecka, 2002; Drzewiecka & Halualani, 2002). As Bardhan (2011) explains, it has

expanded to include

> other forms of transnational dispersal . . . such as the mass expulsion of groups
> from the homeland due to war or ethnic conflict, slavery, indentured labor, natural
> disasters, the postcolonial ''brain-drain'' of professionals to the lands of former
> colonizers and the global North, and more recently, the movement of skilled and
> unskilled migrant labor in the global circuits of decentered capitalism. (p. 42)

This understanding of diaspora is crucial to explicating the postcolonial condition and the

"displacements" (Cho, 2007, p. 13) that it has prompted. Moreover, members of diasporic

communities may include those who are second- or third-generation U.S. Americans who

develop unique and complex subjectivities that cross multiple borders of territory and

community as a condition of their (dis)locations (Stephen, 2007; see also Basch, Schiller,

and Blanc, 1994). Cho (2007) writes,

> In focusing on the problem of subjectivity and subject formation for diaspora, I am suggesting that diasporas are not just there. They are not simply collections of people, communities of scattered individuals bound by some shared history, race or religion, or however we want to break down the definitions and classifications. Rather, they have a relation to power. They emerge in relation to power. This power is both external to the diasporic subject and internally formative. (p. 15)

Consequently, the study of the subjectivities of those who identify as part of diasporic communities, as distinct from other groups, constitutes an important project. The broadened usage of the term "diaspora" has also been incorporated into the language of many immigrant communities, and in keeping with contemporary usages, I use the words "immigrant" and "diaspora" throughout this paper. This explanation provided is then intended to expand and complicate the ways in which those terms are understood.

Weblogs as Text

In order to locate discursive engagement by members of immigrant groups, I examine weblogs written by them. The Internet is fast becoming a primary locus of information-sharing and discussion worldwide with ever-increasing possibilities for social change. Web design tools have facilitated the creation of personalized websites by individuals, largely in the form of weblogs, which are frequently used as public diaries in which individuals express their thoughts on a variety of topics of their own choosing and to which readers can post comments. In 2006, blogger.com, a primary site hosting such blogs, had listed more than 375,000 registered users, and the number of such sites as well as the number of users creating blogs on them grow significantly each day (Jenkins, 2006). As such, the study of weblogs as an underexplored site of discourse is a recent development in communication studies with constant advancements and perpetually changing trends, ripe with new ways of understanding their discursive practices and potential effects.

Weblogs are particularly significant sites of discourse in light of Ono and Sloop's (1995) assertion of vernacular discourse as an important location for textual analysis. Howard (2008a, 2008b) suggests that new forms of participatory media provide new avenues for vernacular expression:

> I argue that there is a class of online discourse that is properly termed "vernacular" because it involves characteristics that are recognized as distinct from those that are recognized as "institutional." Taken as a whole, this technology-dependent but other-than-institutional process of dynamically interconnecting discursive activity is appropriately termed "the vernacular web." (Howard, 2008a, p. 195)

The vernacular web, among other things, includes weblogs written by people who are not necessarily connected to particular institutions, allowing the text to reach widespread Internet audiences without the interference of publishers and producers, creating a new arena of public discourse in which audiences can interact directly with the bloggers (Howard, 2008b).

Such forms of participatory media also provide wider networks with greater access to discourse because these forms are not confined by the geographic locations where the texts are produced. The lifting of this geographic limitation allows for the creation of "new network connections" (Howards, 2008b, p. 508) that are shifting. Consequently, the texts actually emerge from the destabilized locations and intersections of network communications in ways that they cannot from institutionalized texts, making the discourse unpredictable and uncontrollable. In this process of emergence, Howard (2008b) finds increased potential for agents to exert a "transformative influence" (p. 508):

> Here, discursive performance cannot be essentialized to a single specific intentionality, agency, or location. Instead, pulses of electricity dance in changing shapes rendered from digital bits imbued with significance. Among the network

nodes where such shapes emerge, the possibility for transformation is held open because the vernacular web is not just a set of technologies. All its vectors originate from and return to the lives of real individuals, and these vectors carry the potential of transformation all the way from a myriad of everyday expressive moments into the official discourse of powerful institutions. (p. 509)

In other words, the vernacular discourse found in blogs offers a significant promise of agency and change in ways that differ from more traditional, institutionally-produced texts that are confined by their institutional production, locations, and predictable directions of flow. Unlike traditional media forms, which are carefully edited into a final production, online texts are neither static nor conclusive. They are frequently revised or altered by many participants, both in terms of content and meaning, creating multiple strands of thought, and can even be removed altogether (Warnick, 2007). Such co-construction, then, results in a unique "discursive performance" (Howard, 2008b, p. 509) and a high level of "democratic possibility" (Kenix, 2009, p. 792).

Finally, the global breadth of blogs speaks to their cultural relevance, often clearly foregrounding culturally-based perspectives. For example, Stephen (2007) refers to the usage of digital technologies "by immigrants and or descendants of an immigrant group for the purpose of participating or engaging in online interactional transactions, wherever their actual physical location. Virtual transborder communities are extensions of real transborder communities. . ." (adapted from Laguerre 2002, p. 281). Blogs, as a site of discourse, function constructively to produce communities and ideas and engage with existing discourses. This aspect of social media also raises important questions about the ways in which communication scholars study enactments and constructions of identities.

This is even more apt in the case of marginalized subjects. A small new body of research points to the empowering nature of blogs as a safe space for groups that feel

isolated or unsupported (Baker & Moore, 2008; Bucar & Fazaeli, 2008; Kang & Yang, 2009; Katz & Lai, 2009; Mitra & Gajjala, 2008). Undocumented immigrants, for example, by their very status, often lack the ability to contribute to the discourse of institutionalized media, while other immigrant groups may find their concerns excluded from the agendas of mainstream media. However, through the use of weblogs, undocumented immigrants and other marginalized subjects have discovered ways to bypass such institutionalized media and communicate their experiences on the vernacular web. Therefore, especially when searching for the agentic potential of marginalized subjects, weblogs are a crucial site of public discourse that cannot and should not be ignored.

In my dissertation, I turn to blogs precisely as a site of discourse within which to study and examine the engagement of immigrant groups with discourses that function to position them in various ways. My goal is to examine how the bloggers construct their subject positions within these discourses and analyze the social implications of their discursive engagement. The reach of weblogs may be limited to those with technological access and knowledge with regard to writing and reading blog posts; however, increased understanding of enabling and constraining factors can advance the theorizing of discourse and the possibilities for transforming it, such that applications of that theory may be more far-reaching. Moreover, the breadth of web-based discourse is ever-increasing and not yet fully known, as demonstrated by the ways that social networking was utilized to overcome government-controlled mass media in Egypt in order to organize people in a revolution that contributed to the overthrow of a 30-year dictatorial

regime. Therefore, my project revolves around the heretofore, undiscovered potential of web-based vernacular texts in the context of discursive engagement.

Scope of Research Project

April 2010 saw the beginning of a heightened period of immigration discourse in the U.S. public media. While this broad discourse ostensibly targets (undocumented) immigrants from Mexico/Latin America by focusing on the U.S-Mexico border, it also subjugates other immigrant groups, creating various points of entry into the discourse for members of the various immigrant communities. Through these moves, immigration discourse is racialized and complex spaces within the United States are constructed for immigrants to navigate. To delimit the scope of this context, I focus on how members of two specific (though potentially intersecting) immigrant communities in the United States enter the larger U.S. immigration discourse. Each of these immigrant communities is defined by a differing set of criteria and discursively positioned in different ways, allowing for a nuanced exploration and mapping of discursive engagement and participation.

For the purposes of this project, I identify the start of this heightened period of immigration discourse as late April, when the Support our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (SOLESNA), otherwise known as SB 1070 (see Appendix A), was passed in the state of Arizona in the context of immigration discourse that primarily seeks to secure the U.S.-Mexico border and resolve the "problem" of undocumented immigration in the United States. Specifically, such bodies are accused of not paying taxes, taking advantage of social services that they do not pay for, and engaging in criminal activity. SB 1070 was then framed as a necessary move by the state due to the

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federal government's inability to take necessary action for the removal of "illegal aliens" from the state of Arizona. This evoked significant conflict at multiple levels, including responses by undocumented immigrants (and members of other immigrant groups).

Although this bill was aimed specifically at undocumented immigrants, it created an opening for expansion of this discourse to other immigrant groups. Approximately one month later, a column entitled "My Private India" was published in *Time Magazine* that effectively relied on stereotypes and denigrations to represent the large South Asian population in Edison, New Jersey (see Appendix B). In the column, the author suggests that his musings were a result of both his attempt to understand his own discomfort with such changes and his sympathies for the people of Arizona in their passing of SB 1070, thereby comparing the increasing numbers of South Asians in New Jersey to the increasing numbers of (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants in Arizona and constituting another entry point for South Asian-Americans to engage in this discourse.

It should be noted that the two contexts described above are distinct in form and necessarily yield different forms of discourse in the blog responses to them; therefore, they are not intended to be direct comparisons. The discourse I analyze specifically in response to SB 1070 might be described as a branch of public policy debate, which Goodnight (2010) describes as "as a productive, situated communication process where advocates engage in justifying and legitimating public interests" (p. 66). In this case, the debate remains around public policy, as a critique of immigration policy in general and SB 1070 in particular, but is relocated to a more vernacular context. On the other hand, the Stein column, despite being a part of the larger immigration discourse in the United States, is ostensibly a "satirical" column. Reilly (2011) aptly identifies two polarizing

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aspects of satire as "either a form of criticism that subscribes to the highest moral order, or that it is a base form of invective that cultivates destructive, even nihilistic, tendencies" (p. 506). Responses to it therefore focused less on public immigration policy and were directed more so as a critique of a text. In addition, the "humor" of Stein's column gives way to greater use of levity in the responses.

Summary and Research Questions

This research project, consequently, has several interconnected goals. First, I seek to further theorization about the contestation of discourses by examining the contributions made by diasporic groups who are being positioned by immigration discourse. In order to do so, I seek to understand the ways in which members of (undocumented) Latino/a and South Asian immigrant communities constitute collective subjectivities through blog discourses in relation to the larger immigration discourse. To guide this study towards these goals, I pose the following research questions:

RQ1: How do South Asian bloggers constitute a collective subject in the context of Stein's column?

RQ2: How do Latino/a, undocumented, and other immigrant bloggers constitute a collective subject in the context of the passing of SB 1070?

Having identified the ways in which both sets of bloggers constitute collective subjects, I seek to highlight broader social implications of those constructions, specifically in terms of the ways that bloggers contest, challenge, and (re)produce immigration discourse and destabilize or reposition their identities. Consequently, their discursive engagement must be examined in the context of the specific enabling and constraining structural forces and

ideological fields within which bloggers operate in order to advance their subject

positions. As such, I pose the following research question:

RQ3: What are the social practice implications of the two sets of blog discourses

in terms of discursive engagement?

The remaining chapters of this dissertation explore the theoretical, historical, and

methodological foundations of this project in more detail and then proceed to examine

the production of subjectivities in the context of the two sets of blogs as well as their

implications for discursive engagement. Chapter 2 offers a theoretical background on (a)

the application of postcolonial theory to the U.S. context in general and to U.S.

immigration issues in particular; (b) the cultural studies approach to ideology and

discourse; and (c) relevant concepts and theoretical frameworks for discursive

contestation. Chapter 3 provides (a) a critique of constructions of U.S. immigration in

general; (b) a historical overview of U.S. immigration and citizenship law based in

exclusionary and racialized discourse; (c) an exploration of notions of citizenship; and (d)

historical and discursive overviews of South Asian and (undocumented) Latino/a

immigration in the United States. Chapter 4 provides overviews of and justifications for

(a) the sampling of texts for this project; and (b) expansions of Fairclough's approach to

critical discourse analysis that theoretically inform my methodological approach to the

analysis of data. Chapter 5 analyzes findings from the blogs written in response to Joel

Stein's column. Chapter 6 analyzes findings from the blogs written in response to SB

1070. Chapter 7 looks across both sets of blogs for their social implications related to

discursive engagement. Lastly, Chapter 8 concludes with a summary of findings,

theoretical implications, strengths and limitations of the project, and ideas for future

research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter, I explore the theoretical frames and key constructs that I use to drive this study. I first review postcolonial theory in the specific context of its application to the United States. Specifically, I argue that its theoretical challenges to coloniality and complications of identities and relationships within colonial structures provide an important lens and impetus for this project. Second, I turn to cultural studies and its focus on the concepts of ideology and discourse as a theoretical underpinning of this study. Within this framework, I turn to important concepts related to discursive contestation, drawing from the intersections of cultural studies, rhetorical theory, and postcolonial theory.

Application of Postcolonial Theory to the United States

Postcolonial theory constitutes an important lens for this project in two main ways. First, this project aims to challenge the matrix of coloniality by critiquing Western-based epistemological assumptions. Second, it considers the complications of relationships and identities that have resulted from global flows and complicate nation-centered paradigms.

A postcolonial perspective extends beyond economic structures that define a territorial relationship of colonizer and colonized to address the new relationships and cultural identities resulting from the inscription of colonialism upon former colonial societies (Hall, 1996a; Shome, 1998). According to Mignolo (2000), there is a difference between colonialism, as the territorial control of colonies, and coloniality, as the colonial structures that underlie political and economic control. Challenging merely the political, economic, and territorial structures of colonialism ignores the complexities of culture,

discourse, and epistemologies that support colonialism, including the colonial racist ideologies that have persevered. Such a challenge fails to change the terms of conversation, maintaining the binaries of colonizer and colonized and the power inherent in such a construction.

As postcolonial theory has moved away from its focus on territorial colonization, it has shifted to the critique of epistemological assumptions. Mignolo (2009) suggests that the matrix of coloniality emerges from the coincidence of geo- and body-politics of knowledge. Geo-politics of knowledge is the idea that all knowledge arises in specific geographical locations, which gives the First World the epistemic privilege of being both the enunciator and the enunciated, entitled to produce knowledge about both self and other. This privilege is then used in the body-politics of knowledge to dehumanize certain bodies in other specific geographical locations. When those bodies recognize that their dehumanization is a "radical un-human consideration" (Mignolo, 2009, p. 16), epistemic de-linking, the deliberate distancing from universal forms of thought derived through epistemic privilege, occurs. This enactment of epistemic de-linking can be found in foundational postcolonial literature that challenges dehumanizing enunciations of the other (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988, 1999). Spivak specifically argues that Western notions of subjectivity foreclose the possibility of subaltern voices from which knowledge can emerge. Any knowledge that may emerge is subject to a violent process of translation using Western epistemologies that prevent the subject from being read or heard.

Although it has been argued that those in the United States have greater voice and agency than those in the "Third World" (Loomba, 1998), such an assertion is problematic precisely because epistemological foreclosure remains relevant to the U.S. context. For

example, local and transnational histories and subjectivities within the United States are foreclosed in favor of universalized epistemologies entrenched in universal rationality. Whereas the lack of rationality of the Oriental Other was openly used to legitimate colonialism over people deemed incapable of self-government (Mehta, 1999), the same standard of rationality is implicitly used to justify coloniality by suggesting that universal rationality flattens the knowledge structures and competitive opportunities of all people (Friedman, 2005). Alternative voices from those who might have different experiences as a result of the intersecting and heterogeneous forces of globality are foreclosed (Shome & Hegde, 2002a). Mohanty (2003) refers to this process as one of discursive colonization, which can be seen in the instance of undocumented immigrants whose experiences are translated through geo-political knowledge structures pertaining to the construction of the United States as a nation-state.

The epistemic decentering of the "nation-centered imperial grand narratives" (Hall, 1996a, p. 247) that support coloniality is therefore a particularly important task. In the context of the United States, such a perspective may include challenging the terms of conversations that support the United States as an imperialist power or that presume the static and eternal nature of its boundaries—that it has always simply existed. This point is contradicted by Anzaldúa (1999), as she writes about her ancestral lands that had been taken from her family, reminding the reader that her experience in South Texas was not a result of migration but of the forced transfer of the possession of her land following a shift in boundaries. This example demonstrates the importance both of finding voices outside the Western mainstream (Spivak, 1999) and of emphasizing historical evolution. Although this claim appears to essentialize divisions, these voices do not need to be

physically located outside of the West. Critiquing the epistemologies grounded in geo-politics of knowledge through the location of alternate subjectivities is therefore an important step in the critique of contemporary colonial power structures and in discursive decolonization (Hegde, 1998; Shome & Hegde, 2002b).

This movement away from the focus on territorial colonization has also resulted in a complication of global structures. As scholars have pointed out (Shome, 1998; Smith, 2002), the binaries of colonizer and colonized (Fanon 1952/1967, 1961/2004; Memmi, 1965) or Oriental and Occidental (Said, 1978) may not be applicable today, particularly in light of the "scapes," by which Appadurai (2003) captures the multidirectional global flows of ideas, technologies, finances, media, and most importantly, people across the world, not in the sense of a flattening world but in recognition of the more complicated interactions that define global relations. These flows serve to shift the conversation away from nation-centered paradigms to matters of space, not as closed territories but as "a product of relations that are themselves active and constantly changing material practices through which it [space] comes into being" (Shome, 2003, p. 41). A postcolonial perspective therefore addresses the play and interactions in these spaces, which are not necessarily territorially construed but constructed through discourse and imagination.

The interactions created by such global flows construct heterogeneous global spaces of coloniality; therefore, the challenge to coloniality is a global phenomenon that is necessarily located and experienced within and between those interstitial spaces (Shome, 2003) and experienced heterogeneously (Hall, 1996a). Within the United States, the construction of spaces through migration and artificial borders create communities that range from the borderlands to urban migrant ghettos to suburban immigrant

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communities. In these spaces, the body is no longer tied to just a single geographical location, diluting the social memories embedded in specific locations, offering new spaces for the construction of social memories, and even enhancing the internalization of Western Eurocentric epistemologies, resulting in dialectical rather than oppositional identity positionings (Hegde, 1998). For example, children of immigrants who have been raised in the United States experience a liminal connection to their geographical histories, often seeking citizenship and acceptance within the United States while remaining tied to their immigrant communities and homelands. A postcolonial perspective allows for the exploration of how different groups experience these contradictions.

At the same time, the global reach of coloniality that affects transnational communities' identifications ties them together into complex collective subjects. Exploration into the experiences of the spaces in which they exist can reveal the interplay between colonial power structures and the cultural identities, discourses, and relations that emerge from such spaces. It also emphasizes power dynamics in the study of minority groups in the United States rather than cosmetic approaches to cultural difference identified in multicultural studies (Mignolo, 2005; Shome, 1998), offering a useful and necessary supplement to critical race theory. The ties between postcolonial theory and critical race theory are crucial, as Memmi (1965) unequivocally states, "Racism sums up and symbolizes the fundamental relation which unites colonialist and colonized" (p. 70). Analyzing race within the United States as socio-historically stable and produced within isolated structures ignores the matrix of coloniality and the international history in which racial identities are located (Shome & Hegde, 2002b) and the colonial epistemologies, discourses, and cultural relations within which race is

experienced. For example, a postcolonial perspective complicates the ongoing debates about immigration by extending the focus from race relations to examining how the matrix of coloniality underlies the situation, offering new lenses for understanding how immigrant communities respond to the interplay and the contradictions of their cultural experiences.

In this study, I use a postcolonial framework to understand the experiences and discourses of immigrant communities as emerging from and within complicated spaces of coloniality and global power relations. In order to explore these discourses, including the subjectivities, identity positions, and geo-politics of selected immigrant communities within the United States, I also rely on theoretical perspectives that arise from the field of cultural studies.

Cultural Studies: Ideology and Discourse

Within the conceptual framework of cultural studies theory, the concepts of discourse and ideology have been particularly important to the study of communication, cultural representations, and the ideological construction of subjectivity and identity. In this section, I use the evolutionary history of the concept of ideology to argue that its force as a significatory and interpretive lens makes it a necessary theoretical component for analyzing discourse.

The concept of ideology was initially perceived as certain beliefs that existed in opposition to reality. People's entrenchment in the ideology of capitalism resulted in a "false consciousness" that prevented workers from seeing the material reality that they were the foundation of society (Marx, 1845/1978). Given this history, ideology is often positioned as opinions, beliefs, and values that are somehow situated in opposition to

fact. This distinction between ideology and reality is problematic for the primary reason that it presumes the existence of a true reality that can be known only in the absence of ideology. Marx's sharp distinction between ideology and reality allowed him to famously argue that true consciousness would arrive upon the elimination of ideology, allowing the working class to see their reality and overthrow the capitalist system in a violent revolution. Moreover, as Cloud and Gunn (2011) write, "Such a privileged position would seem to require access to an 'outside' of sorts, a position external to discourse to which we have no access" (p. 408). In other words, this conception presumes an intellectual supremacy of scholars who can "see reality" independent of ideology.

Such elitism was apparent in the scholarship of the Frankfurt School in the 20th century, which focused much of its criticism on the mass media (Jansen, 2002; Kellner & Lewis, 2007). In fact, Adorno and Horkheimer (1944/1979) labeled the media as a "culture industry," insofar as it had commoditized art and "invited" audiences to identify completely with the characters portrayed therein, whose problems were always solved within the framework of mainstream, dominant society. By eliding ideology and reality, they argued that mass media was allowing the former to predominate over the latter rather than representing the contradictions between the two. This separation between ideology and reality was critiqued by Raymond Williams (1977) as simplistic and deterministic, incognizant of the mediating and productive functions of ideology. The advent of structuralism aided in this development, as Althusser (1969), a well-known structuralist, theorized ideology not so much as specific content but as a system of people's imaginary relations to reality. Stuart Hall, perhaps the most influential thinker in contemporary cultural studies, incorporates both of these ideas into his theories.

Hall's conception of ideology stems from the notion that all signs are polysemic and that nothing has an intrinsic or inherent meaning. Therefore, things must acquire meanings through a process of signification. Building upon Althusser's structuralism, Hall (1988) argues, "This move from content to structure or from manifest meaning to the level of code . . . entailed a redefinition of what ideology was—or, at least, of how ideology worked" (p. 71). Ideology therefore constitutes a system of significations and representations through which signs acquire their meanings. Moreover, an objective reality constituted by material objects may exist, but social practice, i.e., our relationships with such a reality, may not be experienced, understood, or conceptualized outside an ideological system (Hall, 1985). This understanding means that ideological formulations are not false or distorted in the sense of Marx's notion of "false consciousness." Instead, ideological matrices serve to create an obviousness that is difficult to identify as constructed because "[w]hat were in fact propositions about how things were, disappeared into and acquired the substantive affirmation of merely descriptive statements: 'facts of the case'. . . . They appeared as proposition-free—natural and spontaneous affirmations about 'reality'" (Hall, 1988, p. 74). Therefore, ideological matrices organize specific discourses that then acquire a common-sense nature.

Social discourses are representative tools that rely on ideological significations for their meanings (Hall, 1988). Because ideologies must be socially shared, they must be produced and reproduced in discourse, relying on particular discursive structures to do so (van Dijk, 1988). Such discourses tend to appear "closed" based on the chains of equivalence permitted by the dominant ideologies (Hall, 1988). Foucault (1978) does away completely with the notion of ideology specifically because of its presumed

oppositional status to reality and replaces it entirely with the notion of discourse. Power operates within and through discourse to structure areas of knowledge and create regimes of truth. Discursive unities therefore emerge not from ideologies but from discursive relations; these discursive relations constitute discursive formations that inform and discipline social practices and institutions (Foucault, 1969).

Although Hall relies on structuralist ideas to construct discourse as an ideological system, both Hall and Foucault use poststructuralist notions of polysemy to highlight the fact that discursive forms are neither natural nor absolute. Therefore, an important premise of this paper is that discourse is a central concept that structures the understanding of immigration and that discourse must be critically analyzed in order to denaturalize its assumptions. In addition, I call for reconciliation between Foucault and Hall that maintains Foucault's theorization of knowledge and power operating within and through discourse and returns Hall's conceptualization of ideology and ideological struggle to the understanding of discourse in order to offer a more complete theorization of discursive contestation. In the next section, I will focus on the notion of discursive contestation as a complex and multidimensional concept and process.

Notions of Discursive Contestation

Ideological Struggle, Resistance, and Agency

Although Marx had originally predicted social change through a violent revolution and the destruction of ideology, the failure of subsequent attempts at Marxist revolutions disillusioned many Marxist scholars, leading social theorists to negate the possibility of effective contestation. In particular, Frankfurt School scholars had escaped fascism in Nazi Germany and settled in the United States, only to find that U.S.

democracy still did not allow for freedom from capitalism (Kellner & Lewis, 2007). Instead, they found that the media equalized class distinctions to make it appear that everyone's needs and satisfactions were the same. It therefore alienated the audience so completely from reality that it overtook the mind in a form of mimesis, leading to one-dimensional thought (Marcuse, 1964/1991). This was the Dialectic of Enlightenment—that the freedom to choose was the freedom to choose exactly the same thing as was prescribed by the media (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944/1979)—which functioned to dispel the possibility of resistance or contestation. Althusser (1969) expanded this focus beyond the media to an array of Ideological State Apparatuses, such as schools, churches, and media, which spread the ruling class ideology on behalf of the state, still theorizing a relatively fixed system.

Hall (1985, 1988), however, suggests that discourses can change because ideology is not fixed or constant but must always work to win credibility and maintain its legitimacy so that polsyemic signs can be made to have one specific meaning. Hall relies on Gramsci's notion of hegemony, which contends that democratic governments do not depend on coercion but lead people to consent to their own oppression by garnering what appears to be consensus among the people. Williams (1977) initially applied hegemony to the concept of culture, arguing that cultural work was not static but "has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own" (p. 112), offering an initial move towards recognition of discursive change. Hall then incorporated hegemony into his theory of ideology to discuss the process of ideological struggle and to refer to the power and process of making things mean in a particular way.

In this process, that consent-to-hegemony whose premises and preconditions are constantly structuring the sum of what individuals in society think, believe and want, is represented, in appearance, as a freely given and "natural" coming-together into a *consensus* which legitimates the exercise of power. This structuring and reshaping of consent and consensus—the reverse side of hegemony—is one of the principal kinds of work which the dominant ideologies perform. (Hall, 1977, p. 339)

Hall does not see the ideological system as static in the way of Althusser but opens up the possibility of change through ideological struggle, which occurs when subjects try to re-articulate new meanings and ideologies. The concept of articulation is therefore crucial to ideological struggle. Because there is no necessary relationship between people, ideas, classes, etc.—and particularly not between ideologies and social forces—articulation is the process by which meanings and connections are arbitrarily fixed under certain conditions, though by no means absolute or determined (Hall, 1985, 1986). The process of articulation, therefore, works to connect various ideologies together in order to form the discursive unities within which competing ideologies are articulated and must perpetually compete for dominance, producing, reproducing, and transforming themselves through hegemonic processes.

A particular ideological chain becomes a site of struggle, not only when people try to displace, rupture or contest it by supplanting it with some wholly new alternative set of terms, but also when they interrupt the ideological field and try to transform its meaning by changing or re-articulating its associations, for example, from the negative to the positive. (Hall, 1985, p. 112)

For example, Hall provides the example of dis-articulating the word "black" from its traditionally negative connotations and transforming it to have a positive meaning. By introducing the concepts of hegemony and articulation to ideology, he also suggests possibilities of oppositional readings of signs that challenge dominant interpretations (Hall, 2001). In sum, Hall provides the most comprehensive theorization of discursive

contestation thus far, which this study applies to consider ways in which hegemony and re-articulations operate in immigration discourses.

Hall's approach can be contrasted with Foucault's, which removes the notion of ideology and therefore ideological struggle. Instead, Foucault (1978) famously states, "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (p. 95). Although Foucault recognizes that resistance exists within discourse, he rejects the possibility that resistance can exist or function in opposition to power.

> To be more precise, we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies. (p. 100)

In other words, Foucault negates the idea that there is an oppositional structure within discourse between dominant and resistant ideologies by which either can "win," an idea implicit in Hall's notion of competing ideologies. Rather, they both operate simultaneously to produce fractures and shifts in discursive formations rather than significant ruptures. Moreover, the exercise of power within discourses is always intentional but nonsubjective (Foucault, 1978). In other words, because subjects are already defined by existing discourses, neither the exercise of power nor the discursive act of resistance contained therein can ever originate deliberately from the subject as an individual but must always already exist within the discourse, even though the subject may exercise either with certain aims and objectives. This exercise of power always already constructs the acting subject and challenges the extent of subjects' agency, leading some to interpret his theory as the death of the subject.

However, Foucault does not dismiss agency but makes a strategic argument against a humanist position that positions agency as an uninhibited free will (Gunn & Cloud, 2010). In what has been termed a "posthumanist turn" (Gunn & Cloud, p. 53), Foucault argues that human agency, as an ability to act, is limited and restricted by the discursive options available to people. Scholars therefore consider discursive agency as highly constrained by the discourses that already exist and precede the subject (Enck-Wanzer, 2011; Shome, 2003). However, agency is more complex than something that subjects *have* (or not) and instead "must be understood as radically contextual, contingent, related to form, and linked to performativity" (Enck-Wanzer, 2011, p. 349). According to Campbell (2005),

> [A]gency (1) is communal and participatory, hence, both constituted and constrained by externals that are material and symbolic; (2) is "invented" by authors who are points of articulation; (3) emerges in artistry or craft; (4) is effected through form; and (5) is perverse, that is, inherently, protean, ambiguous, open to reversal. (p. 2)

This line of scholarship, then, builds on Foucauldian notions of agency by offering complex ways in which to make sense of the discursive constraints that Foucault emphasizes without rendering those constraints paralyzing. Biesecker (1992), in what may be considered the most comprehensive approach to Foucauldian agency, brings in Derrida's theorization of différance to explain it. While différance constitutes a continuous process of deferring the subject wherein the subject holds no specific position except in relation to an endless chain of signifiers, Foucauldian discourse is constantly trying to discipline and position the subject within specific spaces. Between this process of deferral and discipline emerges an interplay of space within which lie possibilities for "an unforeseen and undesigned transgression" (p. 155). Biesecker's explanation raises the

possibility of discursive ruptures wherein subjects, produced but not determined by discourses, can act upon the discourse. Therefore, this study considers the possibility of immigrant communities locating and using opportunities to act upon pre-existing discourses in unexpected ways.

Gunn and Cloud (2010) discuss a dialectical approach to agency as a compromise between humanism and posthumanism. This approach accepts the discursive production of the subject while recognizing the subject's ability to reflect meaningfully on those discourses and therefore enact agency within discursive and material constraints as either individual or collective subjects. Following this approach, in this paper, I acknowledge that discursive and material conditions constrain the agency of human subjects, but I simultaneously and deliberately seek to understand how those conditions both constrain and enable human agency within the discourses.

This section has demonstrated much ambivalence in the theorization of discursive contestation. Although Hall optimistically theorizes it through his notion of ideological struggle, he focuses primarily on the management of this struggle by the dominant ideologies through hegemonic processes, rather than on the potential that it offers. Foucault (1978) dismisses the value of resistance because it operates alongside and reinforces power, and he disregards the notion of ideological fields. However, Hall (1986) brings these concepts together when he states,

> But at any one moment, when you want to know how strong the power is, and how strong the resistance is, and what is the changing balance of forces, it's impossible to assess because such a field of force is not conceptualizable in [Foucault's] model. . . . If Foucault is to prevent the regime of truth from collapsing into a synonym for the dominant ideology, he has to recognize that there are different regimes of truth in the social formation. And these are not simply "plural"—they define an ideological force field. (p. 48)

A broader conceptualization of the processes by which discursive structures are contested, albeit within the dialectical constraints of agency and interpellated subjectivities discussed above, remains under-theorized. Therefore, in this study, I rely on Foucault's theorization of power operating within and through discourse while returning Hall's concept of ideological struggle to discourse studies in a way that still considers agency possible, in order to explore how subjects contest immigration discourses. In the next section, I explore how contemporary communication research has explored the possibility of agency specifically through the analysis of non-institutional discourses.

Non-Institutional Discourses in Communication Research

In this section, I look at various strands of contemporary communication research that have contributed to a broadening of scholarship from institutionally-produced texts to non-institutionally-produced texts. In this process, I consider what each strand has contributed as well as its shortcomings, particularly in the context of this project.

The study of non-institutional discourse in cultural studies may be traced to Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model (2001), originally published in 1973, in which he presents the possibility of "oppositional" and "negotiated" readings of texts, thereby proposing that the audience plays an active role in interpreting media texts. Ruddock (2001) argues that Hall's "encoding/decoding model implied that the only way to assess the impact of a text was to look at the audience" (p. 125). Such an approach presumes that the audience has some agency in their interpretations of media representations. As Turner (1992) points out, the movement towards ethnographic studies of audience challenges "[t]he assumption that the audience for such programs is culturally impoverished, mere passive consumers" (p. 142), directly challenging the "one-

dimensional" model put forth by the Frankfurt School and emphasizing the concern for individual agency.

Some communication scholars (Al-Ghabban, 2007; Bird, 1992; Sholle, 1991) have suggested that audience reception studies overemphasize the role of the audience, particularly in terms of resistance to dominant ideological representations. As Sholle (1991) points out, an active audience does not necessarily guarantee resistance, as audiences may reproduce or negotiate meanings in a variety of ways (see Hall, 1973). Moreover, the dichotomous relationship that audience reception studies sets up between text and audience assumes that resistance is an end in itself rather than the means to a larger goal of transformation (Al-Ghabban, 2007). Bird (1992) proposes that scholarship move beyond this dichotomy "to see how media use fits into the entire complex web of culture, understanding how it articulates with such factors as class, gender, race, leisure and work habits, and countless other variables" (p. 251), a move bolstered by the analysis of weblogs as a more comprehensive setting for cultural analysis of discourse. This approach to understanding audience and text as operating within contextualized structures can reveal struggles over meaning that contribute to locating potential for discursive contestation (Sholle, 1991).

Another key area of study in communication in this regard is that of vernacular discourse (Ono and Sloop, 1995; see also Calafell & Holling, 2011), which moves away from the opposition between media and audience and towards the discursive strategies employed by members of marginalized groups as participants in discourse, not to be simply described but to be critically analyzed in the context of the structures of power and knowledge located in larger discourses. A critique of vernacular discourse, then,

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offers the opportunity "to understand how a community is constructed and how that

constructed community functions. . . . [and] to illustrate other possible realities, not to

articulate a vernacular 'space' for further marginalization" (Ono & Sloop, 1995, p. 26).

This line of research offers significant potential for locating new potentialities with

regard to discursive contestation. The relationship between vernacular discourse and

immigration discourses has been brought to light particularly in the context of

California's Proposition 187 through scholarship emphasizing the voices of pro-

immigrant activists and proponents (Hasian & Delgado, 1998; Holling, 2006; Ono &

Sloop, 2002). However, while these studies analyze vernacular discourses by identifying

electronic sites that create spaces for pro-immigrant advocates to develop and express

arguments, systematic attention specifically to the voices of self-identified immigrants is

less common.

Recent work by Anguiano and Chávez (2011) helps fill this gap by analyzing how

the rhetoric of undocumented immigrants found on the Dream Act Portal website relies

upon the dominant logic of the American Dream myth to advocate for the DREAM Act,

pointing out the need to situate the study of vernacular discourse in the "subject positions

from which people speak" (p. 98) in order to adequately grasp the nuances of discourse

strategies and their contributions. In this vein, I extend this research to look at vernacular

discourse across immigrant groups speaking from varied subject positions in order to

better understand the relationship between subject positions and the engagement with

immigration discourses.

Finally, the theorization of vernacular discourse constitutes a precursor to Flores'

(1996) assertion regarding the necessity of discursive space in the production and

consumption of vernacular discourse for marginalized groups "to reverse existing and external definitions and create their own definitions. . . . a means through which the oppressed can move themselves from the periphery toward their own center" (p. 152). Mitra and Watts (2002) seem to approach web-based research as an intersection of vernacular discourse and discursive space research, as they have suggested that cyberspace should be conceptualized "as *a discursive space produced by the creative work of people whose spatial locations are ambiguous and provisional*" (p. 486). In the next section, I look specifically at the concepts of subjectivity and identity, which are crucial to the analysis of how people negotiate their movements within these discursive spaces, web-based or otherwise.

Subjectivity and Identity

The production of alternative subjectivities and identities offers an important entry point to understanding how non-institutionalized discursive spaces are used in the context of discursive engagement. This move is theoretically based in the decentering of notions of subjectivity and identity from natural and fixed to discursively produced. Subjectivity can be defined as a sense of self and of one's relation to the world (Mansfield, 2000). Although Enlightenment philosophers, such as Descartes, Kant, and Rousseau, theorized a free and autonomous individual whose subjectivity came from within and from the ability to reason, this notion of a unified subject has been criticized in scholarship (see Gunn & Cloud, 2010; Lugones, 2003; Spivak, 1999). Therefore, within the past century, the notion of subject has undergone a process of decentering (Mansfield, 2000). This was first seen through psychoanalytic approaches to the subject heralded by Freud and applied by Lacan, a structural linguist who theorized the

unconscious to be like a linguistic system. Although Freudian analysis is typically

deferred to the field of psychology, application of Lacanian theory can be seen in works

that are relevant to communication studies (see Bhabha, 1994).

In this study, I take the approach of another prominent shift, the emergence of the

socially constructed subject. This shift can be traced to Althusser (1969), who introduces

the concept of interpellation, the process by which subjects are hailed by ideology.

According to this proposition, an ideological system precedes the subject. As Foucault

develops this notion, subjects are always already pre-constituted (but not determined) by

the "complex interplay between power and language" (Mansfield, 2000, p. 58) within

which they are produced. Prominent examples of Foucauldian subjects include the

gendered subject (Butler, 1993) and the Oriental subject (Said, 1978); in each case

discourses function to sociologically, ideologically, and politically discipline the subject

from birth. Consequently, the study of discourse has evolved to include the examination

of how subjects are produced through discourse, an approach that I incorporate in this

study in multiple ways.

Identity is yet another way of understanding how subject positions are

constructed. The same linguistic turn that decentered notions of subjectivity has located

identities as always being produced and understood within systems of discursive

representations (Hall, 1997; Sarup, 1996). The fact that these groups exist in discourse

has given identity a notion of being somehow natural or intrinsic, "a shared culture, a sort

of collective 'one true self,' hiding inside many other, more superficial or artificially

imposed 'selves,' which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common"

(Hall, 1993, p. 393). Moreover, subjects often try to find a sense of closure and stability

for their identities, requiring a "labour of the imagination" (Chambers, 1994, p. 25) that

gives identity a seemingly fixed quality. However, this notion of identity has been

denaturalized and deconstructed as a socially constructed aspect of social life.

Because the discourses that are constantly producing and reproducing identities

are not static, identities are not fixed or stable but subject to production, reproduction,

and contestation within these discourses. Not only do representations within discourses

change but human migration and other global flows necessarily change the discursive

regimes by which subjects are produced, further complicating the process of

identification and the possibilities for achieving closure and stability. Identification can

therefore be seen as a perpetual process of emerging and being tied to identities through

articulation, rather than as a state of being (Hall, 1993). Therefore, examining the ways

that people position and articulate their identities offers insight into the ways in which

they construct their subjectivities.

The decentering of notions of both subjectivity and identity leads to the

understanding that identity is a matter of strategic and arbitrary positioning accomplished

through discourse. Moreover, it contributes to a complex understanding of cultural

identity

> . . . as a combination of contextual identifications, representations, and
> relationships; a position along a path that provides an orientation for speaking,
> acting, and producing; a view of the past and histories; and contingent and
> changing direction of movement for the present and future. (Collier, 2005, pp.
> 236-237)

In order to understand the subjectivities of the bloggers in this project, I analyze the

constitution of collective subjects through the constitutive rhetoric (Charland, 1987) of

their participation in constructed blogging communities and as a consequence of the

complex articulations of their subject positions. In doing so, I consider the possibilities of engaging discourses through repositioning and destabilizing identities.

Constitutive rhetoric and collective subjects.

Proposed by Charland (1987), the theory of constitutive rhetoric builds on McGee's (1975) conception of "people" as discursively constituted, both real and fictive, to examine how collective subjects emerge in discourse in particular moments in connection with larger political goals (Drzewiecka, 2002). It particularly bears importance in understanding the subjectivities of diasporic communities, who by definition are geographically dispersed and therefore whose collective constitution as a community rests on the ideological labor of discourse to continually (re)construct them amidst changing political and economic conditions (Drzewiecka, 2002).

The theory also bears significance for they study of such communities as constituted through weblogs by positing that the mutual interpellation of rhetor and audience is a form of constituting a collective subject (Drzwiecka 2002) wherein the audience is not directly persuaded to support the argument of the rhetor but is in fact called upon due to their identification with the subject position constructed through the discourse. Charland (1987) asserts, "From such a perspective, we cannot accept the 'givenness' of 'audience,' 'person,' or 'subject,' but must consider their very textuality, their very constitution in rhetoric as a structured articulation of signs" (p. 137). In this regard, interpellation of the subject must always already occur before such subject can be interpellated as audience. I further argue that as the collective subject is constituted within blog discourses, re-interpellation occurs and re-occurs at multiple levels, strengthening the constitution of the collective as oppressed targets of marginalization

and discrimination. Therefore, constitutive rhetoric is a particularly useful theoretical perspective for studying subjectivity in weblogs because it presumes that audiences are always already subjects in the rhetoric that constructs them through the weblogs, complicating the relationship between discursive producer and consumer (Charland 1987; Stein, 2002).

According to Charland (1987), constitutive rhetorics function through the "process of constituting a collective subject" (p. 139), which rearticulates fragments of discourse to produce a collective identity through which subjects become linked as a community that overrides individual identities and differences (Drzwiecka, 2002; Hasian & Flores, 1997). Such articulations gain strength through constructions of subordination and domination. Drzwiecka (2002) contends, "Positioning the self in relation to other(s) is an important process of constitutive rhetoric" (p. 3). The nature of this community had been described as shifting, subject to contestations to its unstable boundaries. The collective subject, then, is an ontological status constituted across multiple identifications, as individuals within its shifting boundaries are called into being by the structures that produce them: "It is the process of recognizing oneself as the subject in a text. It is to exist at the nodal point of a series of identifications and to be captured in its structure and in its production of meaning" (Charland, p. 143).

The question then remains as to how the various identifications through which the collective subject comes to be are negotiated by the constituted subjects. In order to study the multidimensional aspects of this process, I propose an interconnected three-part framework of diasporic identifications for studying the subject positions of members of immigrant communities that posits that their identifications are always produced in

relationship to structures, trans-spatial/historical locations, and intergroup representations.

The first leg of this framework is *structural* positioning through which people are placed in relation to extant institutions, including but not limited to political bodies and economic structures. This can be particularly important when studying the identity positions of members of immigrant communities for whom "the nation-state/political/economic structures and regulative bodies of power . . . delimit and frame the formation/dissolution of diasporic communities [and] their identities (and claims to a nation)" (Drzwiecka & Halualani, 2002, p. 342). Examining structural positionings underscores the material operation and influence of power dynamics in the construction of particular subject positions.

Closely tied to this basis of positioning is the second leg of the framework, *trans-spatial/historical* positioning. Fundamental to this perspective is an understanding of the relevance of constructions of place and space in the production of identities. Shome (2003) argues that spaces are not "inert backdrops against which struggles of identity occur" (p. 43) but are actively constructed sites of power struggle effected through mobility, time, and proximities. West (2010) offers a comprehensive understanding of "complex interaction between space, identity, and agency" (p. 159) based on the ways in which subject's rhetorical practices convert places into spaces and offer "challenges to cultural hegemonies" (p. 159). Trans- spatial/historical constructions are also tied to the movements of diasporic peoples between the changing cultural spaces of nations, which are then continuously implicated in immigrants' contemporaneous identity productions, implicating elements of both time and space. Chambers (1994) points out the particular

instability of the migrant's identity as "the stranger [who] is perpetually required to make herself at home in an interminable discussion between a scattered historical inheritance and a heterogeneous present" (p. 6).

This understanding of subjects' identifications with particular histories also draws upon Charland's (1987) "positing of a transhistorical subject" (p. 140), which entails the rhetorical appeal of a historical commonality that "transcends the limitations of individuality at any historical moment and transcends the death of individuals across history" (p. 140). Specifically, it encompasses an ideological effect of overcoming fragmentation amongst members of the collective subject. I argue, however, that the trans-spatial/historical positioning is one that entails more than simple relationality to a common ancestral lineage but offers a common spatial positioning created by and through overlapping and/or parallel histories. Because immigrant communities, by their very definition, are likely to identify with multiple cultural communities in various ways due to their specific histories, they must rely upon complex trans-spatial/historical identifications to negotiate belongingness. As West (2010) writes,

> While drawing attention to the spatial dimensions of power relations, Shome simultaneously problematizes acontextual understandings of identity to prevent the importation of stable subjectivities into the dynamic operations of space and identity. As a result, agency is found in the localized interaction between subjects and spaces in which they operate, which is to say in the performativity of identity and space. (p. 160)

In other words, an appreciation of trans-spatial/historical practices and constructions is crucial to understanding the production of identities for diasporic communities in order to complicate the discussion beyond potentially simplistic questions of cultural adaptation grounded in nation-centered paradigms.

The final leg of this framework examines *intergroup representational* positionings. Relying on Hall's notion of articulation, this aspect examines broader public representations about groups and social categories that articulate their identities in relation to other groups, often constructing complex hierarchies. For example, Bonilla-Silva (2004) hypothesizes the movement of the United States towards a tri-racial system consisting of whites at the top, honorary whites as a buffer group, and collective blacks at the bottom of the hierarchy, a model that matches European structures of race. This model captures nuanced ways in which, for example, Asian Americans are compared and related to both whites and collective blacks. It also analyzes how certain characteristics are articulated with certain identity groups in order to maintain or challenge those hierarchies. These may most commonly be referred to as generalizations, stereotypes, or controlling images (Collins, 2000) that articulate subjects within a group with certain features and often constrain the limits of identity, creating problematic understandings and positionings. For example, constructions of model minorities not only contribute to hierarchical orderings of immigrant populations but also create parameters of "good" immigrants that foreclose alternate subjectivities.

The framework above demonstrates the complexities of processes of diasporic identification that contribute to the constitution of the collective subject. It enables the understanding of how subject positions are produced and constituted in relation to structures, spaces and histories, as well as representations and relations between groups. It should be noted that the categorizations within this framework are for analytical purposes, but I do not suggest that each category works independently of each other.

Therefore, throughout my analysis, I also seek to demonstrate the integrated nature of this framework.

Repositioning and destabilizing identities.

The complexities of identification, as presented above, stand in stark contrast to presumptions of the stability or immutability of subject positions. Charland argues that the constitution of the collective subject has an ideological effect of the "illusion of freedom" (Charland, 1987, p. 141). Such texts "offer the illusion of agency" (p. 140) that the subjects produced have the freedom to act, despite the fact that the texts fix the subjects in particular positions so that their actions are always already defined. However, it is important to note that Charland (1987) does not dismiss outright all possibilities of agency. In fact, although he argues that the endings of texts are "predetermined" (p. 141), he also suggests that contradictory subject positions mean that "we can live within many texts" (p. 142). This opens the possibilities for re-articulations of subject positions, as he states, "Successful new constitutive rhetorics offer new subject positions that resolve, or at least contain, experienced contradictions. They serve to overcome or define away the recalcitrance the world presents by providing the subject with new perspectives and motives" (p. 142).

Moreover, unlike the Althusserian subject, upon which Charland's theory heavily relies, the Foucauldian subject is not fixed or determined but is a product of a resignifying process that allows for changes in one's subjectivity based on the changes in the discourses. Although these positionings can appear fixed and static, they are not deterministic of either subjectivities or identities:

> Subjects who institute actions are themselves effects of prior actions. . . . [but] the actions instituted via that subject are part of a chain of actions that can no longer

be understood as unilinear in direction or predictable in their outcomes. (Butler, 1995, p. 43)

As Hall states, identity positions are not permanent but arbitrary, "unstable points of identification or suture, which are made within the discourses of history and culture" (Hall, 1993, p. 395). Because identities emerge through "modalities of power" (Hall, 1996b, p. 4), subjects can re-articulate their positions within this system (Hall, 1996a, 1996b). According to Enck-Wanzer (2011), "Identity and agency are enmeshed in a complicated and complicating process filled with tensions, paradoxes, and polysemic enunciations, which address the various ways in which agency authorizes and undermines competing identities and politics" (p. 356). I therefore contend that although the text exerts an ideological field upon the subject, that ideological influence is subject to the ideological struggle described earlier in this paper.

The ability of collective subjects to position themselves within the pre-existing discursive structures speaks to the extent to which their subjectivities can be heard. This understanding raises the important issue of how discourses position people as subjects, objects, and abjects. Subjects are entitled to understand and interpret the subjectivities of objects, as in the case of colonizers (subjects) who could interpret the experiences of their colonized objects based on Orientalist discourse (Said, 1978). Moreover, subjects are defined through differentiation and exclusion from "deauthorized subjects, presubjects, figures of abjection, populations erased from view" (Butler, 1995, p. 47). According to Kristeva, abjection refers to the destabilization of the system of truth, meanings, and order (Mansfield, 2000); therefore, those who are abject, in the sense that they do not fit into the system that has been created and normalized through discourse, must be excluded altogether from view. Consequently, one's discursive positioning becomes a matter of

political importance (Brummett & Bowers, 1999). Technically, everyone has a subjectivity but not everyone is entitled to have theirs heard and deemed as valid, true, or with legitimate meaning. The "ways in which individuals accept, negotiate, and resist the subject-positions available to them at given moments in a particular culture" (Campbell, 2005, p. 4) therefore speaks to the agency that subjects exercise within the ideological fields that produce them.

In considering the potential for agency around the notion of identification, postcolonial theory offers multiple examples of ways that postcolonial subjects alter the identities into which they are produced. One important concept in this strand of thought is that of hybridity, which is often oversimplified in ways that decrease its relevance (Shome & Hegde, 2002b; see for example, Flusty, 1995; Kraidy, 2002). García Canclini (1995) offers a more useful approach to hybridity, focusing on hybridization as the process of bringing together various cultural forms, which entails the challenges and contradictions involved therein. He highlights the fact that hybridity does not operate in opposition to purity but rather that discourse functions to reify cultural practices into discrete forms, which then combine to form new versions that are once again reified and construed as discrete. Therefore, the focus should not be on the end result of hybridity, which gets dissolved into purity, but on the processes of hybridizing and how it operates. Hybridity has been theorized with varying levels of optimism as a source of resistance. Shome and Hegde (2002b) criticize Bhabha for his singular vision of hybridity as maintaining a "temporal, linear, and binary logic" (p. 258). However, I suggest that insofar as it is connected to mimicry (see Bhabha, 1994; Yeğenoğlu, 1998), it remains

significant because of its emphasis on destabilizing identities through contradictions that challenge established identity positions.

In a distinct but not unrelated move, Lugones (2003) focuses on the concept of world travel to explicate the processes of hybridity. In response to the dominant logic that identities are fragmented pieces that are made to come together as a whole, she argues that curdling is an art of resistance because it allows the destabilizing of an always already impure identity, rather than of a colonized and fragmented other. For example, a view of fragmentation operates in the context of dominant discourses to enable the construction of oppositionality between various minority groups, which I discuss in the following chapter, that functions to preserve the dominant racial status of white Americans. Lugones, however, contends that everyone develops logics of resistance during world travel through playfulness, the development of alternative gazes as loving stances that allow for a re-envisioning of identifications from oppositional ones that enhance social fragmentation, to ones that promote coalitions across bodies of color. However, people fail to be conscious of these logics of resistance upon moving to different worlds. Lugones' approach changes the terms of the conversation, subverting the logics of coloniality rather than inverting it:

> So, the resistance and rejection of the culturally split self requires that we declare our communities public space and break the conceptual tie between public space and monoculturally conceived Anglo-only concerns: it requires that language and conceptual framework of the public become hybrid. (Lugones, 2003, p. 136)

Lugones' approach to resistance aptly responds to the cosmopolitanism and the splitting of identities in the United States.

The focus on destabilizing identities within postcolonial theory offers a critical paradigm from which to examine the subjectivities and identities of diasporic

communities in the United States. Broadening the focus from hybridity to the destabilizing and reconstituting identities offers important insight into how immigrant communities in the United States may engage with discourse to produce alternate subjectivities.

Conclusion

Relying on and expanding upon the theoretical framework of constitutive rhetoric, I argue that members of diasporic communities constitute an ontological status as a collective subject through the construction of multidimensional and interrelated identifications. I take a position that subjectivities and identities are discursively produced, but I also posit that re-articulations are possible, though both enabled and constrained within the framework of positionings discussed above. My approach locates power and productive force (Foucault, 1978) within the discourses that produce and position subjects, but by analyzing the discourses of those subjects, also identifies how those ideological discourses are engaged, (re)produced, and contested. However, this approach creates a slight paradox in the way that research is done. On the one hand, there is the assumption that subjects are not pre-determined; on the other hand, research usually begins with certain identity groups based on certain pre-identified categories. This move cannot be avoided, as it is important to understand how people are positioned and constrained by certain structures prior to analyzing the discourses that emerge (but do not originate) from them. One must therefore approach this research with reflexivity that is open to changing and shifting identities within the discourses of analysis.

Understanding the discursive positionings and subjectivities of diasporic collectives emphasizes the importance of seeking out voices that are marginalized, and

not frequently heard, in order to better understand varied subjectivities. Such analysis can provide insight into both the workings of discourse to produce subjectivities as well as the ways in which ruptures and competing discourses are managed and/or resolved. Therefore, my analysis of discourses is also influenced by a postcolonial theoretical perspective that seeks to identify global power structures and matrices of coloniality as well as ways that members of U.S. immigrant communities respond to them in light of their cultural experiences within complex and liminal spaces. Using a postcolonial perspective to complicate geo-political epistemologies, I specifically seek alternative voices produced within shifting global relations in order to analyze subjectivities and destabilized identities within the interstitial spaces of coloniality. Given the United States' position within this matrix as a space of global flows and migration, the complication of these global relations is particularly important to understanding and problematizing immigration in the United States. With this understanding, in the next section, I contextualize dominant immigration discourse as well as the positionings of two immigrant groups in the United States: (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants and South Asian immigrants.

CHAPTER 3: CRITICAL REVIEW OF U.S. IMMIGRATION AND
CITIZENSHIP

In this chapter, I explore how notions of immigration, citizenship, and nation are constructed in the context of the United States. I first provide broad historical and conceptual overviews of these ideas. Then, I focus on historical and discursive understandings of South Asian and (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants to the United States. Throughout this chapter, I seek to highlight the contradictions that frequently emerge between discursive constructions and historical events.

Immigrants and the Immigrant Nation

The United States is often described as a politically and racially neutral "nation of immigrants" (Hayden, 2010; Streich, 2009). The words, "Give me your tired, your poor/Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," are inscribed upon a plaque on the base of the Statue of Liberty, a symbol for all immigrants to see as they enter Ellis Island. According to Berlant (1997), the common discourse of immigration functions to define the immigrant as "*someone who desires America*" (p. 195). This definition is steeped in the myth of U.S. exceptionalism, which problematically positions the United States, in contrast to "colonizing" nations such as Great Britain and France, as a glorious site of democracy and liberation (Shome & Hegde, 2002b), where those who may be poor or oppressed in their homelands can come to create their own destinies and live out their full potential by "pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps."

Entrenched in this narrative is a problematic image of both the immigrant and of the United States as an immigrant nation. The narrative ignores the history of the space, its colonization, and the systematic genocide of Native Americans, instead imagining that

the founders of the United States were in fact the original immigrants (Weinbaum, 2007).

It also ignores the histories of those who did not migrate to the United States voluntarily,

beginning with the history of slavery to the stories of those who were forced to migrate to

escape numerous forms of violence (Somerville, 2005). Moreover, the narrative of U.S.

exceptionalism positions the United States as "a more desirable place to live than the

immigrants' countries of origin and assume[s] that the affluence, prosperity, and modern

conveniences that underwrite U.S. national identity are irresistibly enticing" (Lawston &

Murillo, 2009-2010, p. 47). Such a positioning accomplishes two things. First, it erases

the colonialist history of the United States (and other European nations) that often

created, or at least contributed to, the conditions referred to in the immigrants' countries

of origin (Lawston & Murillo, 2009-2010; Thomas, 2010). Second, it allows immigration

to be constructed as a reasonable process of submission and loyalty to and/or assimilation

with the United States as a sovereign regardless of treatment or positioning within U.S.

structures.

This understanding of immigration consequently also functions to naturalize the

conception of the nation-state (Luibhéid, 2007), validating the unfettered rights of a

sovereign national government to establish policies around who is allowed to cross its

national borders (Berlant, 2007; Orgad & Ruthizer, 2010). According to Sandoval (2008),

> An integral part of U.S. national culture constructs America as a nation of laws.
> This facet of national identity defines the United States in at least three ways: first
> as a political entity framed by laws; second, as a collection of people who abide
> by those laws; and third, as a people who agree that these laws define them as a
> nation. (p. 589)

Hayden (2010) points out that this narrative of the United States as a land of immigrants

is then utilized by pro-immigrant advocates who argue that immigrants embody the

American Dream, as well as by anti-immigrant activists in order to keep out prospective immigrants who do not "fit" the desired image of a U.S. American identity. A critique of immigration discourses must therefore answer Somerville's (2005) call to "pay attention to the ways in which the state selects its own objects of desire and produces them as citizens" (p. 662).

This critique of the construction of immigration reveals a major contradiction within immigration discourse in the United States. While it works to construct a national identity "as an inclusive, race-neutral and civic-oriented identity that rests on a narrative of the US as a nation of immigrants" (Streich, 2009, p. 268; see also Cook-Martin & FitzGerald, 2010; Ngai, 2004), the history of immigration in the United States is actually based upon policies of racial exclusion. The myth of the United States as an immigrant nation serves to obscure the histories of the multitude of racial and ethnic groups who have at one point or another constituted the immigrant population. A brief historical overview of immigration policy follows to elucidate this point.

History of U.S. Immigration and Citizenship Policy

Immigration

With the emergence of the nation-state as a concept and the birth of the United States as a nation, citizenship was an important concept to be defined and regulated. The 1790 Nationality Act granted the right to citizenship to "free white persons" (Ngai, 2004, p. 37), in recognition of the existence and perceived validity of the institution of slavery. The ratification of the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1870 extended legal citizenship to people of African descent, which Jim Crow laws would negate, but left

unresolved the question of what happens to people who fall in the middle of this black-white color spectrum (Ngai, 2004).

Surprisingly, nearly a century passed after the establishment of the United States in 1776 before the national government attempted any regulation of immigration across national borders. The lack of immigration legislation had left it up to states to determine their own immigration policies (Luibhéid, 2002; Pegler-Gordon, 2009). When the United States did pass its first federal immigration statute, the Page Law of 1875, it banned the entry of prostitutes, criminals, and coolies, initiating the tradition of exclusionary immigration practices that protected "white heteropatriarchy" (Luibhéid, 2002, p. 5). The Page Law was primarily enforced against potential Chinese immigrants, setting the stage for the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act that was "supported by widespread American beliefs about Chinese racial inassimilability and inferiority, as well as concerns that the Chinese threatened the American standard of living by working for lower wages than free white men" (Pegler-Gordon, 2009, p. 3). The Act of 1891 introduced deportation procedures that policed immigrants after entry and moved beyond racist and xenophobic concerns to class-based anxieties by excluding immigrants who were likely to become public charges or who could not pay for their own passage (Luibhéid, 2002). The practice of "'selective' immigration" (Luibhéid, 2002, p. 2) established in this initial period of federal immigration regulation has continued to define immigration policy and discourse since then.

Exclusionist policies continued to grow and expand in the following decades. While Chinese immigration had been prohibited in 1882, Japanese and Korean immigrants were excluded through the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908, with the

exception of the wives of Japanese men in the United States, "reflecting the complex weave of racism, class concerns, and heteropatriarchal assumptions that shaped immigration legislation" (Luibhéid, 2002, p. 11). This exclusion was extended to the rest of the "Asiatic barred zone," stretching from Afghanistan to the Pacific (with the exception of U.S. controlled Philippines), by the 1917 Immigration Act. Among other things, this legislation also instituted a literacy examination that was aimed at indirectly restricting immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe and that created a new category of exclusion based on psychological concerns (Luibhéid, 2002; Ngai, 2004; Pegler-Gordon, 2009).

The economic boom and the growth of industrial capitalism in the 1920s combined to decrease the overall need for an expanding workforce and concomitantly increase restrictionist demands (Luibhéid, 2002; Ngai, 2004). Immigrants became associated with all social ills, including anything ranging from crime to disease to communism (Flores, 2003). The first National Origins Quota law was passed in 1921, placing a cap on total immigration from any nationality to three percent of the number of foreign-born persons from that nation living in the United States as of 1910. However, much of the Western Hemisphere was exempted from these limits. It also established a preference system that privileged family reunification, particularly with wives, children, and immediate family numbers (Luibhéid, 2002). Such restrictions were intended to maintain existing racial and ethnic demographics.

The 1924 National Origins Act dramatically reduced immigration to the United States, banning the immigration of all people ineligible for citizenship, which had been judicially restricted to white people who were culturally and racially assimilable (Pegler-

Gordon, 2009). It reduced all other immigration to 155,000, based on two percent of the

foreign-born population from each nation living in the United States as of 1890. Again,

the Western Hemisphere was exempt from the quotas (Luibhéid, 2002; Ngai, 2004). By

selecting 1890 as its target date for determining quotas, it effectively maintained

European immigration in proportion to the levels of national immigration that existed at

that time, significantly decreasing immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. The

national origins quota system demonstrated a conflation of nation and race and supported

a belief that the United States was—and should therefore remain—a white nation

descended from Western Europe (Flores, 2003; Luibhéid, 2002; Ngai, 2004).

> The nativism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century comprised a
> cultural nationalism in which cultural homogeneity more than race superiority
> was the principal concern. Restrictionists did not entirely discount the possibility
> of assimilation but complained that the high volume of immigration congested the
> melting pot, creating "alien indigestion." (Ngai, 2004, p. 23)

The end of World War II and the emergence of the United States as a democratic

superpower, led to some changes in these immigration quotas. Negligible quotas were

given to Asian countries in the 1940s, and the 1952 McCarran Walter Act extended

citizenship and naturalization rights to everyone regardless of race or nationality.

However, Luibhéid (2002) refers to these moves as "largely symbolic" (p. 18), as they

failed to make a significant change in immigrant demographics.

The Immigration Act of 1965 is seen as a major turning point in U.S. immigration

policy, hailed as landmark because it ended a racialized hierarchy in U.S. immigration

policy, most frequently attributed to the liberal era of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement

(Luibhéid, 2002; Ngai, 2004; Takaki, 1989). It raised the number of admissible

immigrants each year to 300,000, with 170,000 distributed equally amongst Eastern-

Hemisphere countries, opening up immigration in general and specifically to people from Southern Europe and Asia. However, it must be noted that the law, while changing the nature of the quotas, did not actually remove per-country quotas from its gambit (Orgad & Ruthizer, 2010). Moreover, scholars have questioned the apparent liberalism of this new immigration policy, as it has been pointed out that Cold War politics compelled the United States to change policies that affected its international reputation as a leader in democracy (Cook-Martin & FitzGerald, 2010; Luibhéid, 2002; Ngai 2004).

In addition, a more detailed examination of the 1965 Act reveals that it did not in fact aim to increase or diversify immigration to the United States. The Western hemispheric exemption had been removed, effectively extending overall numerical restrictions on immigration and most significantly affecting Mexican and Canadian immigration (Ngai, 2004). The "equal" immigration policy had failed to consider "differences in size and needs among countries or the particular historical relations between some countries and the United States" (Ngai, 2004, p. 245), augmenting the system of "illegal" immigration from Mexico. In addition, the opening of immigration to the Asiatic region was not intended to increase immigration from Asia. Given that 74% of immigration slots were reserved for family reunification, reformers (incorrectly) expected that existing patterns of immigration would not be substantially altered and that there would be "virtually no change in the actual number of Asian immigrants" (Takaki, 1989, p. 419), demonstrating the inconsistency between the race-neutral appearance of the Act and its racist intent (Luibhéid, 2002). In fact, the 1965 Act heralded a new wave of post-1965 Asian immigration to the United States using employment-based categories that then created a base for further family-based immigration (Ngai, 2004; Takaki, 1989).

[U.S.] Congress had not understood that the system of formal equality would have the practical result of continuously producing new chains of migration. As part of their abstract, formalist approach, reformers viewed the quotas statically, as a fixed number of admissions a year. They had not understood that each quota immigrant admitted into the country could open a path for other non-quota family migration, as well as for other quota-preference categories. (Ngai, 2004, p. 262)

In 1990, U.S. Congress passed a new Immigration Act that modified the 1965 Act by creating family-based and employment-based preference categories that specifically favored immediate relatives over more distant relatives and highly skilled workers over less skilled workers, omitting altogether unskilled workers from employment preference categories. This legislation also created a new category of H-1B visas that allowed skilled workers to temporarily enter and work in the United States, bring their immediate family members, and apply for permanent residence (Li & Skop, 2010).

The final decades of the twentieth century effectively witnessed a simultaneous opening and closing of borders that significantly affected the racial make-up of the U.S. American body politic without altogether undoing the relationship between U.S. immigration policy and race/nationality (Cook-Martin & FitzGerald, 2010). As Das Gupta (2006) points out, these policies created a naturalized hierarchy of immigrants through "categories of illegal, legal but nonresident, legal and resident but noncitizen, naturalized citizen, and native born" (p. 13). In the next section, I further explore this relationship by looking at racialization in the context of citizenship and naturalization.

Citizenship

The 1965 Immigration Act, in conjunction with the 1952 McCarran Walter Act, satisfied the liberalism of the civil rights movement in the United States by making it appear that immigration laws applied equally to all races and nationalities and by removing all racial criteria for naturalization. Naturalization is typically conceived of as

"a formal legal process through which a noncitizen acquires American citizenship" (Carbado, 2005, p. 640). This understanding of naturalization then allows citizenship to be perceived as a universal status that supersedes other forms of identity, negates discrimination, and elides the social movements that various groups have undertaken— and continue to undertake—in "*expanding* the claims to rights and entitlements to new areas" (Hall & Held, 1989, p. 176; see also Das Gupta, 2006; Rosaldo, 1997).

Chávez (2008) points out that because truly universal citizenship that afforded immigrants equal rights through naturalization would have an effect of diluting the privileges of citizenship, immigration discourse functions to otherize immigrants by reducing their rights and privileges, such as welfare protection or access to driver's licenses. Consequently, scholars have distinguished between citizenship as a purely legal status versus citizenship as a sociocultural status that helps determine individuals' rights and identities within the nation-state structure (Carbado, 2005; Chávez, 2008; Hall & Held, 1989; Rosaldo, 1997):

> Cultural citizenship operates in an uneven field of structural inequalities where the dominant claims of universal citizenship assume a propertied white male subject and usually blind themselves to their exclusions and marginalizations of people who differ in gender, race, sexuality, and age. Cultural citizenship attends, not only to dominant exclusions and marginalizations, but also to subordinate aspirations for and definitions of enfranchisement. (Rosaldo, p. 37)

Therefore, the legal provisions for "equal" immigration and naturalization rights are not by themselves a sufficient component of equal citizenship.

Carbado (2005) argues that immigrants to the United States undergo "de facto racial naturalization . . . when race is implicitly being used to establish, solidify, or sediment race-based American identities" (p. 649). In other words, in addition to the *de jure* process of naturalized citizenship, all immigrants become "American" only through

a process by which they are positioned within the racialized structures of U.S. American society and they come to recognize and understand what those positions signify. The United States therefore must perform the ideological work of imagining and maintaining a U.S. American national identity by "distancing the body politic from the racially different other" (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 1994, p. 40) while simultaneously winning over the loyalty of the racial other through such myths as the American Dream, through which promises of equality are maintained.

The role of race in citizenship becomes even further complicated by discussions of transnationalism and globalization, resulting in a greater fluidity of borders and global movements of people, ideas, and capital (Appadurai, 2003; Chávez, 2008). Consequently, lives, memberships, and loyalties can extend across nation-states. However, dominant notions of immigration combined with nation-state ideology erase the transnational spaces in which these racialized populations exist (Shome, 2010), effectively ignoring the existence and experiences of members of diasporic communities "who develop and maintain multiple relationships—familial, economic, social, organization, and political— that span borders" (Basch et al., 1994, p. 7; Das Gupta, 2006). This notion of transnationalism requires a reconfiguration of how racialized immigration and citizenship discourses function together to construct and position immigrant communities.

The contradictions of immigration and citizenship become clear, a combination that Ngai (2004) terms alien citizenship, "persons who are American citizens . . . but who are presumed to be foreign by the mainstream of American culture and, at times, by the state" (p. 2) and evidenced most clearly by the example of Japanese internment during World War II. It refers to the possibility that within immigrant communities, immigrants

can legally become U.S. citizens and their children can be born in the United States as "natural" citizens, and yet remain subject to cultural denial and marginalization. Therefore, in my analysis of immigration discourse, I attempt to elucidate the ways in which this paradox around immigration and citizenship positions and is engaged by two immigrant groups—South Asian immigrants and (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants. In the following sections, to further justify the choice of these particular groups, I analyze their histories and positionings in more detail in the context of the above discussion.

The South Asian Immigrant Community in the United States

Historical Overview

South Asian immigrants first appeared in the United States in a sizeable number in the early 1900s, many via Canada, from where they had already been driven out, to work in the agricultural fields of California or in the lumber fields of Washington (Ngai, 2004; Takaki, 1989). Although the United States offered them a somewhat protected status in order to maintain good relations with Great Britain, England wanted to discourage Asian Indian immigration to the United States due to anti-imperialist sympathies that they believed to exist in the latter (Ngai, 2004). In addition, despite their racial classification as Caucasian, South Asians were nonetheless seen as an economic threat by their white labor competitors due to their willingness to work for lower wages. The Bellingham riots in 1907 forced around 700 South Asians into Canada (Li & Skop, 2010; Takaki, 1989). As a result, between 1908 and 1920, immigration officials denied entry to 3,500 South Asians, using the rationale that they would likely become public charges (Takaki, 1989). This series of events culminated in the inclusion of colonial India

within the Asiatic barred zone, effectively ending further immigration by South Asians to the United States for a time.

The status of South Asians already in the United States was subsequently in doubt. Court cases in 1910 and 1913 had established that Asian Indians were Caucasian and therefore to be considered white for purposes of eligibility for citizenship under the 1870 legal provisions (Takaki, 1989). Therefore, several hundred South Asians had become legally naturalized as U.S. citizens prior to the passage of the 1917 Act, leaving ambiguous their future status (Ngai, 2004). While most found hope in a 1922 decision that established that "white" and "Caucasian" were synonymous, the following year, the *Bhagat Singh Thind* case changed this position completely (Takaki, 1989). This case did not challenge the constitutionality of the racial requirements for citizenship but instead argued that as Caucasians, Asian Indians were racially "white." However, the Supreme Court, in line with its presumed epistemic privilege, pronounced that Hindus could not be considered "white" precisely because "white" was a reference to skin color and not race; in that sense, and drawing upon colonial discourse, Asian Indians were a part of the white man's burden and could not be considered "white." As Ngai (2004) writes, this ruling "sealed their fate as unassimilable Asians in the United States" (p. 49).

As a consequence, efforts began to denaturalize Indians who had acquired citizenship, essentially rendering them stateless. Furthermore, due to a 1920 Alien Land Law that prohibited those ineligible for citizenship from owning land, measures were also instituted to revoke purchases of land that had been made by South Asians (Das Gupta, 2006; Ngai, 2004; Takaki, 1989). One man who had arrived in the United States in 1915 with his family and had become a naturalized citizen was so distraught over the

revocation of his citizenship that he committed suicide in 1928, writing in his final note that he had tried to be

> ". . . as American as possible. But now they come to me and say, I am no longer an American citizen. . . . What have I made of myself and my children? We cannot exercise our rights, we cannot leave this country. Humility and insults, who are responsible for all this? I do not choose to live a life of an interned person. . . . Is life worth living in a gilded cage? Obstacles this way, blockades that way, and the bridges burnt behind." (cited in Takaki, 1989)

These words emphasize the tentative nature of citizenship and the marginalization that existed despite legal status. As Ngai (2004) writes, "For Europeans, assimilation was a matter of socialization and citizenship its ultimate reward. Asians, no matter how committed to American ideals or practiced in American customs, remained racially unassimilable and, therefore, forever ineligible to citizenship" (p. 46).

By 1940, the South Asian population had dropped significantly, now consisting primarily of elderly who lived in California as either farmers or farm laborers. Although a small minority worked as professionals, the overall educational levels of South Asians were lower than all other racial and ethnic groups that were reported in the census that year. In many ways, their cultural ties to their homeland were lost because they could no longer return or bring their relatives to the United States, indicative of the privileging of white families in family reunification provisions (Luibhéid, 2002; Takaki, 1989).

The status of South Asians in the United States slowly began to change in 1946 when a nominal one-hundred Asian Indians were allowed entry each year and made eligible once again for legal citizenship. This move was prompted by India's efforts in World War II as a colony of the British Empire and consequently as an ally to the United States (Ngai, 2004; Takaki, 1989). With the 1965 Act, this number was increased significantly to 20,000 for each South Asian nation, including India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka,

Nepal, and eventually Bangladesh. The South Asian community has since been the fastest growing immigrant population in the United States. Numbers have grown from less than 13,000 in 1960 to 450,000 in 1990 to 1.6 million in 2008 (Li & Skop, 2010). Li and Skop offer two important reasons for this growth. The first involves the ties that immigrants have created with their friends and families in India and other South Asian countries, creating connections through which new immigrants can more easily come to the United States (Grewal, 2005). The second has been the active recruitment of Indian students, medical personnel, and technology professionals by major U.S. institutions.

Through this history, South Asian immigration can be broadly categorized into four prominent waves. The first wave came to the United States in the early 1900s, primarily as male working-class laborers with limited education (Takaki, 1989). The second wave came between 1965 and 1980, were English-speaking, educated, medical and industrial professionals, and included more males than females (Li & Skop, 2010; Takaki, 1989). The third wave came between 1980 and 1990, many through family reunification provisions, which involved more equal numbers of males and females as well as more lower-middle-class immigrants who frequently opened businesses, such as motels, restaurants, and grocery stores, or found jobs in service-oriented sectors (Li & Skop, 2010). Since 1990, the most recent wave of immigrants involved a more diverse range of professionals with managerial skills, including many who came from wealthy backgrounds and could "[transfer] significant liquid assets to the USA" (Li & Skop, 2010, p. 299).

Positioning and Representations of South Asian Americans

Upon the initial arrival of South Asian immigrants to the United States, the ambivalence of their racial positioning, particularly given the range of skin colors among them, posed a challenge to their discursive labeling. Although they came from the continent of Asia, they were distinct from other Asians because they were considered Aryan and therefore belonging to the Caucasian race (Takaki, 1989). Yet, with their darker skin, they were occasionally called "niggers." More often, however, they were identified with Japanese and Chinese immigrants and, frequently associated with the "yellow peril," which represented a fear of the cultural, economic, and even military takeover of the United States by Asians (Kawai, 2005). In this vein, South Asians were deemed part of a new "Hindoo invasion" (Takaki, 1989, p. 297) by the Asiatic Exclusion League, even though most South Asian immigrants during this period were Sikhs and a few were Muslims. This representation is closely associated with that of the "perpetual foreigner," based in Orientalist constructions of the exotic Easterner whose culture is in direct contrast with Western civilization (Shim, 1998, Tuan, 2005; Zhang, 2010). As foreigners, they can never be completely trusted and are victims of xenophobia, exclusion, and discrimination. The exclusion of South Asians after 1917 and subsequent denaturalization clearly positioned them as an undesirable and abject set of immigrants.

These representations underwent a shift in the 1960s when the model minority stereotype emerged, which attributed Asian immigrant success to positive Asian family values and celebrated Asian immigrants as a model for other minority groups in the United States to emulate (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Kawai, 2005; Paek & Shah, 2003; Ramasubramanian, 2011; Shim, 1998). Paek and Shah (2003) highlight four dimensions

of the model minority stereotype: (1) financial success, particularly in business and professional endeavors, due to the sacrifices they are willing to make; (2) high capability in areas of technology; (3) academic success, particularly in areas of math, science, and technology, due to both inherent intelligence and a cultural value of hard work; and (4) successful assimilation into the "white world" due to subservience and non-threatening behavior. According to Bonilla-Silva (2004), such non-threatening behavior includes being respectful, polite, and obedient.

A number of empirical studies in communication (Dalisy & Tan, 2009; Lee & Joo, 2005; Paek & Shah, 2003; Shim, 1998; Taylor, Landreth, & Bang, 2005; Taylor & Stern, 1997) have examined representations of Asian Americans in television, film, and advertisement, finding that, while their overall exposure has increased through the years, they remain restricted to "model minority" roles that relegate them to professional settings, advertisements for technology-based products, and representations as "hardworking, intelligent, and highly skilled in math and science" (Lee & Joo, 2005, p. 664). Despite the fact that South Asians are racially distinct from East and Southeast Asians, given the post-1965 influx of medical, industrial, managerial, and other professionals, South Asian Americans have been easily interpellated into the notion of the model minority.

Although this recent classification as a model minority appears positive, it is problematic for several reasons. First, it racializes an entire group of people based on a small set of characteristics, despite evidence of Asian Americans who do not bear its attributes. Yet, by ignoring the in-group variations as well as the socio-political history of U.S. immigration that inherently invites middle- and upper-class educated professionals,

it validates the myth of the United States as a land of immigrants who can pursue the American Dream (Das Gupta, 2006; Prashad, 2000). Consequently, it supports a colorblind ideology that obscures the ways that institutional processes and structures enable and constrain upward mobility (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Kawai, 2005). Second, South Asian Americans are positioned into the category of honorary whites, a "not-quite-white" category within which they are entitled to some of the privileges of whiteness in order to encourage them to aspire to white standards, but they are never to be treated completely as whites, as demonstrated by lower earnings than whites when comparing educational achievement (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Zhang, 2010). Therefore, whereas South Asian Americans in the early twentieth century embraced their categorization as Caucasian, more recent immigrants challenged it due their experiences of *de facto* racial naturalization (Carbado, 2005) in the 1970s when they were taken aback to be treated in the United States as second-class citizens, as opposed to the full citizenship status they had enjoyed in India. To challenge this positioning, they argued against their classification as "white" in the U.S. Census, which had served only to obscure their history of ongoing discrimination (Das Gupta, 2006).

Furthermore, as honorary whites, South Asian Americans constitute part of a buffer group between whites and collective blacks, keeping the lowest tier at bay while maintaining a façade of racial mobility. Hidden within the model minority myth are statements about the lower positioning of black Americans and other minority groups that blame them for their inability to rise up in the structure (Kawai, 2005; Nakayama, 1988; Paek & Shah, 2003).

> The myth reinforces the stereotypical notion that minorities other than Asian Americans are dull and lazy. It connotes that African Americans and Latinos

could also achieve success, only if they would embrace a serious work ethic and sincerity concerning education just as Asian Americans do. (Paek & Shah, 2003, p. 239)

This is problematic because it ignores the varied sociocultural experiences and differential structural barriers faced by each group, assuming a level playing field wherein one group takes better advantage of the system than another (Nakayama, 1988). It ultimately maintains white supremacy by creating intergroup hostility between South Asian Americans and members of the collective black, including black and Latino/a Americans (Das Gupta, 2006; Paek & Shah, 2003; Prashad, 2000). It maintains the object status of South Asian Americans as pawns in the structure of white supremacy.

Recently, scholars have asserted that the emergence of the model minority stereotype is not a complete shift in the representation of Asian Americans from the "yellow peril" (or "Hindoo invasion") but rather a related move (Kawai, 2005; Ono & Pham, 2008; Zhang, 2010). This may be evidenced by the resurgence of the yellow peril stereotype in the 1980s due to a fear of Asian Americans "outwhiting the whites" (Kawai, 2005, p. 116). Kawai asserts that there is a dialectical relationship between the two representations:

> People of Asian descent become the model minority when they are depicted to do better than other racial minority groups, whereas they become the yellow peril when they are described to outdo White Americans. On one hand, Asian Americans as the yellow peril embody ''foreignness'' and 'masculinity'' that threaten U.S identity as a White, Christian nation; on the other hand, Asian Americans who make efforts to succeed silently and diligently—without demanding or protesting anything—symbolize ''the model minority'' and ''docility'' or ''femininity'' and confirm colorblind ideology. (p. 115)

Consequently, the representations function simultaneously to confine the actions of subjects through the continued ambivalence of their positioning and the contradictions between the *de jure* and *de facto* citizenship that they experience. It interpellates South

Asians into the aforementioned myths of U.S. immigration and precludes them from

demanding or mobilizing for welfare protection, affirmative action, or other group

welfare rights despite the existence of glass ceilings, underemployment, and

underpayment (Das Gupta, 2006; Grewal, 2005; Paek & Shah, 2003). It creates a

discourse that subjects Asian Americans to racial discrimination but silences them from

speaking up about it, either denying that it exists or blaming them for it when it does.

Unfortunately, caught up in the biracial paradigm of the United States, the fact that

systematic discrimination of South Asians occurs is still not accepted or addressed:

> Thus, the newly named "Asian Indians" were granted a slippery toehold in the United States as long as their belonging was contingent on their willingness to assimilate and contribute economically without demanding anything in return. In other words, the state was ready to offer citizenship with its responsibilities of economic contribution and political participation . . . but without the substantive right to protection against marketplace discrimination that would ensure the group's social and economic security. (Das Gupta, 2006, p. 53)

The ultimate consequence is that South Asian Americans are always necessarily

politically tied to their geographical past, grounded in an Orientalist legacy, by which

they are labeled as forever foreigners as a continuation of their history as racially

unassimilable and prevented from enjoying full citizenship (Tuan, 2005). As Nakayama

(1988) contends that the model minority stereotype is a "discourse . . . generated from the

outside looking in" (p. 65), the unveiling of their subjectivities can be crucial in un-

silencing members of this diverse group.

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"Illegal" Immigration in the United States

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Historical Overview

Despite contemporary ties between "illegal" immigration and Mexican

immigrants, Chinese nationals were the first group to have to resist exclusion by finding

alternative means of entry. Challenging the discriminatory immigration policies, they

created "paper sons" to establish their admissibility to the United States, using falsified

documentation of birth and/or photographic evidence to establish familial relations to

Chinese-Americans. As a result, Chinese immigrants were the first set of immigrants to

be constructed as "illegal" with all of its connotations, including the presumption of

inherently criminality and untrustworthiness (Pegler-Gordon, 2009). Mexican movement

throughout the borderlands region, on the other hand, was viewed as somewhat naturally

occurring, especially for labor purposes (Ngai, 2004). Therefore, it was not uncommon

for Chinese, Syrian, and Southern European immigrants to enter the United States using

the U.S.-Mexican border by racially passing as Mexicans, as there were no substantial

restrictions on Mexican immigration in the early 1900s. The ambivalence of the black-

white racial binary of the United States allowed this to happen; because all of these

groups fell within a liminal category of non-white, immigration officials often could not

fulfill their claims of being able to visually identify people of varied nationalities and

ethnicities (Pegler-Gordon, 2009).

However, the "local practices of border crossing were not as natural . . ." (Pegler-

Gordon, 2009, p. 183) as they were made out to be. Rather, specific policies invited U.S.

American capital to help industrialize the Mexican economy, including the promotion of

large-scale agriculture and a national railroad system. Many small landowners therefore

lost their lands and moved north where industrialization and large-scale agriculture,

combined with the exclusion of Asian laborers, had created a niche labor market for

Mexican immigrants. Until 1917, such immigrants were not even required to have a

passport (Pegler-Gordon, 2009).

However, the Mexican Revolution and the U.S. involvement in World War I increased fears of enemies crossing through the U.S.-Mexican border, in line with the general trend of greater border restrictions and standardizing passport requirements for international border crossing. In 1924, the U.S. Border Patrol was officially established by the U.S. government in order to protect the nation against unlawful entry by Chinese and Mexican immigrants, as well as by European immigrants who were denied entry due to the strict quota limits. Such provisions unintentionally functioned to increase the number of undocumented immigrants in the United States. Forged documentation continued to be an issue, often used by Jewish immigrants to leave Russia and Poland or by other immigrants to bring children into the United States under a quota exemption for children less than eighteen years of age. Mexican immigrants frequently opted to enter without legally applying for admission in order to avoid the dishonor involved in the physical examinations newly required by U.S. immigration officers. As a result, nearly eighty percent of Mexican migrants during this period entered without the requisite documentation (Pegler-Gordon, 2009).

Even then, immigration policies were not strictly enforced with regard to Mexican immigration because Mexican immigrants were seen as peons—docile but hard workers who were well-suited to labor in agriculture without being a threat to the body politic (Flores, 2003). As long as they met "the established expectation of the brown body" (Sandoval, 2008, p. 585), their entry was permissible as an integral part of the economic system. However, later years saw "a hardening of attitudes toward all forms of organized illegal immigration across border, including Mexican migration" (Pegler-Gordon, 2009, p. 214). With the Great Depression came a decrease in labor needs, leading to voluntary

repatriation campaigns as well as deportations of Mexicans regardless of immigration and citizenship status (DeChaine, 2009). Such actions were well-supported by shifting constructions of Mexican immigrants as a racialized other that now did pose a threat to the U.S. national identity and body politic as criminal, diseased, and dangerous. Flores (2003) argues that these constructions aided in the "creation of a climate of hostility and surveillance toward Mexican/Americans that impelled many, regardless of immigration status, to leave" (p. 378).

In an attempt to stem the tide of "illegal" immigration from Mexico by facilitating Mexican labor, the U.S. government instituted the Bracero Program in 1942, breaking with U.S. policy extant since the Contract Labor Law of 1885 to reject foreign contract labor as "unfree" (Ngai, 2004, p. 138; see also Luibhéid, 2002). Because the contract stipulations frequently were not followed and braceros were often too afraid to use the formal complaint procedures available to them, many deserted their contracts to find independent farmers or better-paying factory jobs in the cities, rendering them "undocumented." Others avoided the Bracero Program altogether, availing of farmers who preferred to find laborers near the border in order to avoid the costs of the formal program. Consequently, the Bracero Program, contrary to its intent, actually led to more "illegal" immigration (Ngai, 2004).

In 1954, the Bracero Program was altered to make it more user-friendly by allowing border recruitment and to legalize those laborers who were in the United States unlawfully. At the same time, potential employers were encouraged to recruit labor through the Bracero Program by the implementation of Operation Wetback, "a massive enforcement effort aimed at apprehending and deporting undocumented workers from the

Southwest, especially south Texas and southern California" (Ngai, 2004, p. 155). More than one million people, including citizens, were deported through Operation Wetback (Berg, 2009). However, border recruitment continued to facilitate "illegal" immigration, and Operation Wetback was ineffective in curbing it. In other words, immigration policy and practice functioned from one end to encourage "illegal" immigration and from the other end to demonize it and drive it out. The Bracero Program was subsequently ended in 1964 (Ngai, 2004).

Bracero labor therefore was replaced by cheap undocumented workers who served a wider range of labor needs and included greater numbers of women and children than before (Nadadur, 2009). Despite the Civil Rights Movement of this era, exploitation of undocumented workers, combined with an extant concern over border control, continued: "Perhaps it would have been too much to expect that liberals, who were fighting southern racists over African American civil rights, would have simultaneously fought the same 'solid South' on the matter of agricultural labor rights" (Ngai, 2004, p. 166). In the 1970s, President Jimmy Carter offered an unsuccessful "amnesty" proposal for certain undocumented immigrants already in the United States. A similar provision was passed years later as the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (L. Chavéz, 2008). This provision indicated recognition of the contradictory needs of business and globalization policies, on the one hand, and the need to protect the national body politic on the other (Luibhéid, 2002). It helped reduce the population of undocumented immigrants, but little was accomplished in terms of stemming further "illegal" immigration or the need for it (Nadadur, 2009).

The 1990s witnessed several important changes to the immigration scene at the southern border. First, the 1990 Immigration Act emphasized employment-based categories, designating clear preferences for skilled workers that left few immigration options for many Mexican laborers (Berg, 2009). Meanwhile, the 1994 establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) further disrupted the Mexican economic production system, encouraging even greater labor flows into the United States (Thomas, 2010). In 1996, the Illegal Immigration and Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act was passed, which, among other things, included provisions that made the adjustment of status by undocumented immigrants even more difficult while making their deportation much simpler (Chávez, 2008). This law continued the denial of all federal assistance, with the exception of emergency medical care and disaster relief, to undocumented immigrants.

The issue of "illegal" immigration became a particularly prominent topic in U.S. politics in the 2000s. In 2005, the House of Representatives passed a stringent bill that would have criminalized living as an undocumented immigrant as well as assisting any undocumented immigrant (Chávez, 2008). This bill did not pass the Senate, which offered its own version in 2006 that included both a guest worker program and a path to citizenship for some undocumented immigrants. Specifically, the DREAM Act would offer a path to permanent residence to undocumented immigrants who entered the United States as minors, comply with certain criteria, and complete at least two years of either university-level education or military service. The most recent version, as of this writing, was introduced in the Senate in May 2011.

With none of these attempts at the federal level to reform immigration having

been successful, a number of localized efforts have been instigated, such as the

Minutemen Civil Defense Corps' Border Fence Project (DeChaines, 2009) and

California's Proposition 187 (Ono & Sloop, 2002). In April 2010, Arizona passed SB

1070, and although an Arizona district court has blocked the most substantive provisions

of this law awaiting review by the Supreme Court, at least five states have passed "copy-

cat" versions of the Arizona legislation with others pending, demonstrating the polarizing

nature of this law (Gomez, 2012).

Although obtaining accurate counts of undocumented immigrants in the United

States is inherently challenging, according to Chávez (2008), recent estimates indicate

about 10 to 12 million with most coming from Mexico and other Latin American

countries, primarily through a geographical path that takes them across the U.S.-Mexico

border. Therefore, neither the fact that not all undocumented immigrants are Mexican or

even Latino/a nor the connection drawn between Mexican/Latino/a immigration and

"illegal" immigration, should be ignored. This history of "illegal" immigration

demonstrates the inherent tensions between stated positions and policies about

immigration and the sociohistorical and economic needs that perpetuate the phenomenon.

Moreover, it indicates how racial exclusionary practices that pervade immigration

policies have consistently created the very phenomenon that is so vilified in immigration

discourse.

Positionings and Representations of Undocumented Immigrants

To understand the situation of undocumented immigrants, one must look beyond

the issue of legal status in the United States to matters of racial and class positioning

(Camacho, 2008; Dick, 2011). As border regulation became increasingly focused on Mexican immigration in the early twentieth century, Mexican bodies became subject to medical examination, including bathing, delousing, and quarantines (Pegler-Gordon, 2009). Despite their perceived racial similarity to Asian immigrants, who were already excluded, Mexican immigration was still encourage because it fulfilled the need for cheap agricultural labor. At the same time, formal paper policies functioned to reify notions of territoriality and the "view that the undocumented immigrant was the least desirable alien of all" (Ngai, 2004, p. 62). According to Flores (2003), "the Mexican body came to signify illegal alien and, potentially, every Mexican/American became a walking target. Both whites and Mexicans knew that brown bodies were suspect and foreign" (p. 379). Their positioning has since remained outside the subject/object binary in the category of abject, disrupting the system altogether.

Their abjection occurs in three ways: morally, racially, and legally. Their moral abjection transpires through the enunciation of their undesirability. As Ono and Sloop (2002) argue,

> [T]he contemporary citizenship narrative casts immigration in moral terms: Those who abide by U.S. laws and procedures for how to become U.S. citizens are cast as good and moral citizens; those who do anything but systematically follow expectations of U.S. government officials and their supporters are seen as bad and immoral "illegals." (p. 26)

In the early twentieth century, undocumented immigrants were inherently considered dangerous criminals and the women were associated with prostitution (Ngai, 2004). This representation is marked by continuity, as immigration discourse continues to attribute to undocumented immigrants a range of activities from unlawful entry to petty crimes to drug involvement, creating a seemingly natural connection between "illegal alien" and

"criminal" (Flores, 2003). The "illegality" of undocumented immigrants has become a fixed and naturalized descriptor of their characters in terms of their disobedience rather than a transitory legal status determined by a "socially constructed, historically situated, dependent, and, as a consequence, fluid" (Sandoval, 2008, p. 589) set of laws. Undocumented immigrants are paradoxically accused of both stealing American jobs (Berg, 2009) and living off of either welfare or criminal activity due to their laziness and inability to procure employment (Takacs, 1999). These representations naturalize their criminal essence to the exclusion of "the role of racism and white supremacy in the policing, criminalization, and imprisonment of large groups of people" (Lawston & Murillo, 2009-2010, p. 41). Moreover, this moral abjection "justifies denials not only of citizenship, but of human rights" (Dick, 2011, p. E45).

The erasure of racism from dominant discourses about "illegal" immigration is supported by the racial abjection of undocumented immigrants. Connections are discursively drawn between "illegal" immigration and Mexicans as a racialized category (Flores, 2003) despite a history that belies such a linkage given the open immigration routes to Mexicans, unlike Asians who were numerically restricted and precluded from citizenship. According to Ngai (2004), growing restrictions on immigration ". . . created many thousands of illegal Mexican immigrants. The undocumented Mexican laborer who crossed the border to work in the burgeoning industry of commercial agriculture emerged as the prototypical illegal alien" (p. 71). This racial construction of the "illegal" immigrant, however, is further complicated by the constructedness of racial categories. According to Dick (2011),

> . . . the racializing conflation of illegality and Mexican immigrants becomes available as an interpretive lens when communities confront influxes of

immigrants from Latin America. This conflation is racializing because it affects only some immigrants—Mexicans or those presumed to be Mexican—constructing this group as inherently foreign and unauthorized, regardless of actual legal status (Flores and Benmayor 1997; Flores 2003). This racialization depends on a process of iconization in which the conflation between "illegal alien" and "Mexican" is symbolically loaded with phenotypic stereotypes: the idea that "Mexicans" look a certain way—they are dark-skinned, small in stature, possess "indigenous" features such as broad noses, and so on—and so can be visually identified. (p. E37)

Consequently, the discursive connection between "illegal" and "Mexican" affects not just those immigrants from Mexico but also from other Latin American (and other) locations where people bear a physical resemblance. Moreover, while most undocumented immigrants come from Mexico and other Latin American nations, others come from non-bordering countries, often through legal provisions, and then overstay their visas (Berg, 2009).

Although non-white Latinos/as are positioned at the bottom of Bonilla-Silva's (2004) tri-racial hierarchy within the collective blacks, the structure ultimately has no space for undocumented immigrants due to the complexities of the group in racialized terms. According to Ngai (2004), even Mexican-Americans have struggled with their loyalties as they sympathize with undocumented workers but may also see them as economic competitors who bring down wages and whose presence subjects all Mexican-Americans to racism. If de facto racial naturalization is a precursor to the development of an American identity, then the very exclusion of undocumented immigrants from the racial structures constitutes an exclusion from the national body and the preclusion from acquisition of a U.S. American national identity.

Consequently, undocumented immigrants are positioned outside of the nation-state, as neither citizens nor immigrants who are necessarily on the path to citizenship

(Camacho, 2008; Chávez, 2009). This legal abjection is accomplished and reified through various interrelated ideological constructions. First, the U.S. nation-state is defined in particular ways, beginning with an ideology that identifies "Americanness" with whiteness. According to Grimm (2011), "Because Anglo whites have been so visible in U.S. society, the connection between 'being American' and 'being white' has been established as the norm" (p. 772). Moreover, as a nation-state, its citizens are identified as law-abiding, something that "illegal" immigrants inherently are not, rendering them as "inherently, un-American, perhaps even anti-American. Their continued presence threatens the national body from within" (Sandoval, 2008, p. 589). Interwoven in this discourse is the threat narrative:

> The Latino Threat Narrative posits that Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups, who ultimately become part of the nation. . . . Rather, they are part of an invading force from south of the border that is bent on reconquering land that was formerly theirs (the U.S. Southwest) and destroying the American way of life. (Chávez, 2008, p. 2)

The undocumented immigrant is therefore an intruder upon the unified and homogenous culture of the United States, identified by its sacred geographical boundaries (del Río, 2006; Flores, 2003; Takacs, 1999). Metaphors used to construct this discourse include the immigrant as a toxic pollutant invading the purity of American culture (Cisneros, 2008), a medical pathology infecting the healthy body of the United States (Johnson, 2005), a natural disaster, or an enemy attacking the nation (Thweatt, 2005).

This system of abjection functions to vilify and dehumanize undocumented immigrants as "illegal aliens" who exist completely outside of all permissible structures. Sandoval (2008) provides an apt summary of the positioning of undocumented immigrants:

> The Mexican illegal immigrant body is constructed in this space. . . . as a threat, as a social and economic parasite, as a commodity, as a wonder that is biologically suited to stoop labor, as a casualty, as a victim, as a criminal, but rarely as a human being. (p. 593)

As with South Asian immigrants, a history of racialized and exclusionary immigration laws and policies have worked hand in hand with problematic immigration discourses to locate them in a non-subject position. Consequently, this paper moves to explore how their voices and their subjectivities can be heard.

Conclusion

By juxtaposing the histories of two immigrant groups in the United States, this overview of U.S. immigration policy presents two distinct trajectories. While Mexican-Americans were historically viewed as part of the Southwestern landscape, today Latino/a immigrants are conflated with undocumented immigrants, positioned outside the nation-state and morally, racially, and legally abject, with no rights to belonging or identity beyond the categorization of "illegal." On the other hand, South Asians were historically excluded as a racially unassimilable other but more recently welcomed as "model minority" professionals who live within the parameters of "good" immigrants but must always remain "forever foreigners." Yet, these histories are clearly not entirely detached from each other. Both reveal how racial exclusion and marginalization constitute U.S. immigration policy and discourse and belie the professed "melting pot" of the United States as a liberal and welcoming nation of immigrants. They also uncover the obstacles that immigrant communities face with regard to citizenship—legal, cultural, and racial—which continue to position them as marginalized and subjugated people within the territorial borders of the United States. Therefore, I contend that the further juxtaposition of the two groups offers a useful basis for theorizing how their different

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positionings relate to the ways in which they engage with the immigration discourses that

effectively construct those positions and the associated identities.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS

The goal of this study is to understand how members of immigrant groups

respond, contribute to, contest, and engage immigration discourses. In this chapter, I

explain the methodological processes by which I determined the scope of this project,

selected the sample of texts, and used critical discourse analysis to analyze the texts in the

context of the larger social and discursive practices in which they exist and operate.

Sampling and Selection of Texts

Event-based Purposeful Sampling

For my collection of data, I used a purposeful sampling strategy, common in

qualitative research, to identify the context of U.S. immigration discourse as "critical to

understanding" (Schwandt, 1997, cited in Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 122) the functioning

of discourses. Such discourse was particularly prominent in mainstream U.S. media

beginning in April 2010. A Google News search of "illegal immigration" between April

and August, 2010 yielded almost 17,000 results, while the sole word "immigration"

yielded 71,000.

An important motivation for this heightened discourse was the fact that SB 1070

was signed into law by the State of Arizona on April 23, 2010. This Act criminalizes any

unlawful presence in the State of Arizona and authorizes police to arrest anyone, without

warrant, of whom they have reasonable suspicion of such unlawful presence, and transfer

such person to the custody of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement or to the U.S.

Customs and Border Protection. It continues the longstanding trend of racialized

immigration policies that position undocumented immigrant bodies as abject and outside

the bounds of the nation-state, especially insofar as it requires police to monitor

undocumented immigrants, as well as other bodies of color present in Arizona, constructing undocumented immigrants as a threat, rather than as entitled to governmental protection. Various institutions have since called for boycotts against Arizona, the federal government has filed a lawsuit against the state, and the government of Mexico issued a travel advisory warning Mexican citizens against traveling to the state of Arizona. Consequently, this law must be seen as a significant moment in and impetus for the prominence of immigration discourse with direct impact on the community of undocumented immigrants in the United States.

While this Act is ostensibly aimed at countering "illegal" immigration, leading to significant discussion around such issues as birthright citizenship rights of children born in the United States to undocumented immigrants and the DREAM Act, it has also created a space for the larger immigration discourse to expand. This discourse targeting other immigrant groups, especially Latino/as, has also created new ways for members of these communities to engage the discourse. The South Asian community, despite being positioned as a model minority community, was not exempt. On June 29, 2010, while SB 1070 remained prominent in the national media, columnist Joel Stein published a column titled "My Own Private India" in *Time Magazine* regarding his reflections about the changes that have occurred in his hometown of Edison, New Jersey, as a result of the influx of South Asian immigration. According to the 2010 U.S. Census (2010), Edison's Asian Indian[2] population is almost 30% of its total population. In the column, he suggests that his musings were a result of both his attempt to understand his own discomfort with such changes and his sympathies for the people of Arizona in their passing of the SOLESNA legislation, thereby comparing the increasing numbers of South Asian-

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[2] There is no broader category for South Asian.

Americans in New Jersey to the increasing numbers of (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants in Arizona. This column engendered widespread discussion amongst South Asians on the Internet through blogging, creating a new entry point through which members of this community could participate in the larger immigration discourse.

Therefore, these two instances are closely connected with each other by the direct links that can be drawn from one to the next and as interrelated moments within a larger discourse of immigration. Moreover, the discourses that they produced and reproduced have a significant impact on the positionings of their objects, leading to distinct ways of entry into the larger U.S. immigration discourse, and allowing for a nuanced exploration and mapping of discursive engagement and participation.

Role of Researcher

My role as the researcher also played a crucial role in determining the scope of the project and the selection of texts. My personal and professional subject positions have been relevant to this project both from its inception as well as throughout its execution. At a professional level, I identify as a critical communication scholar. Despite variations in strands of critical scholarship, within the field of communication studies, "critical scholars are particularly interested in how messages reinforce oppression in society" (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008, p. 46). Therefore, I set out to choose a set of texts in which such issues were particularly prominent for analysis in my dissertation. Personally, I identify as a second-generation member of the South Asian community in the United States with unmistakably brown skin. I visited my parents' hometown in south India frequently as a child, and I also lived there for five years as an adult. Consequently, I associate closely with many of the local cultural aspects, but I also recognize that there

are many aspects of my identity that are very "American." My personal and professional identities have contributed directly to my interests in such areas as postcolonial scholarship, U.S. immigration, and diasporic communities.

By early 2010, I had begun reading the Sepia Mutiny blog due to a personal interest; its primary bloggers are also second-generation South Asians in the United States, and I found in their posts a space where ideas and events were discussed from an engaged "desi" (i.e., related to the Indian diaspora) perspective, which I often felt lacking in other realms of my life. In April 2010, when SB 1070 was passed by the Arizona legislature, I felt upset and frustrated by it and paid close attention to its media coverage as it unfolded. I remember thinking that I would not be going to Arizona until the law was repealed; not only did I not want to patronize the state's economy, but I also knew that, as someone with brown skin, I could likely be a target of the legislation and, consequently, undue police attention. I was also pleasantly surprised to read a post on Sepia Mutiny expressing similar ideas, perhaps feeling a sense of pride that other South Asians in the United States were also concerned about SB 1070. However, I anticipated the ambivalence that ensued from many of the commenters. Several years earlier, when I was employed as an immigration coordinator for a software company, a South Asian colleague had been in my office around the time of the 2007 May Day immigration protests, asserting that it was not fair that he was being forced to wait so long for his green card because he had followed the rules.

Through Sepia Mutiny, I also learned about Joel Stein's column in *TIME Magazine*; this led me to read the original text. Personally, I believed that it was racist and inappropriate, and I was upset that such a column had been printed in a mainstream

publication. I was also surprised at what I perceived as the lack of mention about it anywhere in the mainstream media and felt that a firestorm might have erupted had it been written about certain other communities. Blogs then became a space where I could read more about other South Asians' reactions to the article, and I became enthralled by the online discourse that ensued. I had also noticed the connection between Stein's column and SB 1070, underscored by Stein's statement, "Whenever I go back [to Edison], I feel what people in Arizona talk about: a sense of loss and anomie and disbelief that anyone can eat food that spicy." Looking back, I realize that I had been interpellated by both of the events due to my racial and ethnic identity. This dissertation project then emerged from the convergence between my personal reactions to these events, which were directly connected to my cultural identity, and my scholarly interests in challenging oppressive discursive structures in society.

This acknowledgement of my personal and professional history is important because it brings to the fore my own personal and political agenda in carrying out this project. While I rely on theoretical constructs to conduct my analysis and support the arguments that I make, I do not make claims to "objective" analysis, nor do I believe that such analysis is possible. Although a more traditional critical analysis of the texts of SB 1070 and Stein's column that highlights their (re)production of oppressive discourse(s) is outside scope of this dissertation, this project nonetheless originates from an unwavering belief that the two discursive events are racially motivated and unjust, thereby warranting an analysis of how the discourses in response to them may or may not contest the larger discourses upon which they are based. My subjectivity, then, not only motivates this

project but also has a bearing on the ways in which I analyze and makes sense of my findings.

Sampling of Blogs as Text

The body of texts used for data analysis was based in a theoretical construct sampling technique through which samples are selected on the basis of meeting the criteria of the theoretical interests of this project (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Texts consisted of weblogs written by members of immigrant communities in the United States, in response to the discursive events discussed above. These texts provided a sufficient basis for understanding the participation of members of immigrant communities in those discourses.

I took several steps to locate the blogs. First, as using a search engine is the most direct and efficient way of finding blogs on a specific topic and, after a review of a variety of blog search engines, *Google Blogs* appeared most comprehensive and well-archived, I used the *Google Blogs* search engine to locate as many blog sites and posts as possible that address these events. I used such keywords (and combinations thereof) as "SB 1070," "Arizona immigration," "Joel Stein," "New Jersey Indians," etc. I then used a "virtual" snowball sampling strategy to locate and collect texts that are linked to each other. In qualitative research, snowball sampling traditionally involves the recommendation by willing participants of others they may know who fit the criteria of the study (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). In this case, as various blog posts on related topics often form network connections, they link to each other. Consequently, I used relevant blogs posts located through a search engine to identify additional blog posts.

As I identified relevant blog posts, I carefully reviewed each to ensure that the main blog post and/or a substantial number of comments fit the criteria of the research project. This meant that it (a) was written by a member of either the (undocumented) Latino/a or South Asian immigrant community in the United States; (b) engaged with the discursive events described above; and (c) was not connected to institutionally produced media, such as mainstream newspapers. Once I established that the blogs fit these criteria, they were saved and printed to establish the date on which they were analyzed, regardless of further changes or future removal from the Internet. Furthermore, I only used those comments that appeared to meet criterion (a) above, either by the screen name used or by some other avowal of identity made within the comment. This was important because of my larger goal to analyze the discourses of members of immigrant communities. I disregarded those comments made by people whose identities clearly did not meet the criteria or were too ambiguous to determine, except insofar as they helped make sense of the applicable comments. Throughout my analysis, I usually refer to all participants in the blogs as "bloggers." However, on some occasions, I differentiate between those who write a primary blog post ("posters") and those who write comments in response to them ("commenters").

Qualitative research has no formal principles for determining sample size but must rather be guided by a combination of practicality and depth (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Researchers must consider the point at which data becomes saturated, or repetitive, and at which no new information can be learned (Mason, 2002). This is particularly relevant when blogs are the unit of analysis because the "network" nature of blog discourses leads to the "distinct possibility of a self-limiting 'echo-chamber'"

(Kenix, 2009, p. 793). Therefore, I narrowed down the identified blogs in a way that maximized their illustration of the overall blog discourse available online, as follows. First, I considered all blog posts and comments published between April 23 and August 23, 2010, i.e., four months following the passage of SB 1070. After this date, it appeared that further responses were either repetitive or less directly responsive to the discourse. Subsequent analysis revealed a need to exclude additional blogs and/or comments based on other criteria due to what I perceived as the repetition and stagnation of ideas. In the case of the Stein blogs, where certain websites hosted multiple blog posts with a large number of comments by the same general group of bloggers within days of each other and the publication of the column, I selected only one main post per site. In addition, the blog on one particular site, Sepia Mutiny, had 395 comments, making repetition inevitable; therefore, I stopped analysis once it reached saturation, after 104 comments. In the case of SB 1070 blogs, each main post generally had fewer comments, so the same situation did not arise. However, as the blogs stretched across the designated period of time, within a single site, I selected only one main post (and its accompanying comments) per blogger per month in order to acquire a greater breadth of the discourse over time. A summary of all blogs used in this study is provided in Appendices C and D.

Method of Analysis

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

For the purpose of this study, I relied on Fairclough's (1992, 1995) approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze data collected. According to Fairclough, this approach has two major aims, revealing hidden connections in discourse and social intervention on behalf of those who are disempowered. CDA is an appropriate approach

for this study for three main reasons. First, its philosophical assumptions allow for the analysis of subject positions and subjectivities that emerge through discourse. Fairclough asserts that reality is constructed in and through language, but because language is neither constant nor universal, knowledge is always value-mediated. Discourse is productive because of the embedded nature of power within it. Language, therefore, has three specific functions, the construction of identity, social relationships, and ideas (or ideologies).

Second, CDA specifically allows for and even emphasizes changes in discourse. Although Fairclough (1992) subscribes to Foucault's notions of power, he parts with Foucault on the constraining nature of discourse, relying instead on Althusser's notion of ideology as a signifying practice of language that helps to produce, reproduce, and transform relations of domination. Althusser focuses on reproduction, but Fairclough relies on Gramsci's notion of hegemony to argue that, while ideology does position and construct the subject, subjects can position and reposition themselves within this discourse. Therefore, discourse can be seen as a site of struggle where different forces of power interact through language to produce new meanings. The possibility of change is also brought about through the concept of the orders of discourse and interdiscursivity wherein "orders of discourse are disarticulated and rearticulated in the course of hegemonic struggle" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 124). The greater the interdiscursivity, the greater the potential for social change; less interdiscursivity represents maintenance of the social order. For example, a text relying on the American Dream as an established discourse type may maintain the social order, but articulating the American Dream with an anti-nationalist discourse type may potentially articulate a new order of discourse and

constitute an example of interdiscursivity. Therefore, Fairclough's CDA offers several

possibilities for analyzing the struggle between related discursive texts. Because my

research aims at exploring relationships between competing discourses, CDA offers a

sound methodological approach to study the relationships between various strands of

discourse.

Third, CDA includes social and discursive practices, providing a methodological

tool for analyzing the relationship between them. According to Fairclough (1992, 1995),

discourse can be defined in three distinct ways. The first is the concrete interaction

between speaker and audience or writer and reader. The second refers to the type of

language used in a specific context. The third is primarily based on the Foucauldian

notion of how language structures particular areas of knowledge. Therefore, discourse

must be analyzed at all three of these levels, text, discursive practice, and social practice.

The text is a moment within the larger social context and must be studied as such in order

to understand its implications in the social production of meaning. Fairclough's notion of

context therefore recognizes practices and structures that exist within the larger context

and affect the signification of discourse. This focus on discursive and social practice will

allow me to situate the chosen texts within a larger discursive and social context,

increasing the contextual relevance of the claims and the overall depth of analysis.

Data Analysis

Data analysis consisted of four overarching steps. First, I read each blog post

along with its accompanying comments in order to gain familiarity with it and

highlighted ideas that appeared important upon initial reading. After this initial reading,

my second step was to map out the discourse constructed within each blog and its

comments, relying on a form of rhetorical analysis known as "cluster criticism" to provide insight into rhetorical choices made by bloggers (Foss, 2009). Using a specific strategy of rhetorical analysis provided an explicit methodological approach to analyze the text, which focuses on the specific content contained within the texts. As Fairclough (1992) writes, texts are moments of past discursive practice, which makes their meanings ambivalent and open to interpretation. However, this level of analysis is an attempt at minimizing this ambivalence by ascribing particular meanings to the text by examining the specific vocabulary used and "rhetorical schemata" (p. 77) that reveal arguments being made in the text.

In cluster criticism, a small number of keywords are identified in the texts based on their frequency or intensity. Then, symbols that cluster around those key terms are charted based on proximity or relationship, followed by an explanation of how those patterns to help construct the bloggers' worldviews. For example, a brief look at sample texts indicates a clustering of the keyword "brown" near the word "'illegal,'" specifically in quotations marks, revealing connections bloggers might be making between racialization and a perceived constructedness of unlawful status as well as among members of racial groups perceived as brown-skinned. I used Inspiration© software to manually create word maps, which allowed me to pinpoint links between concepts from the main post in blue, and links between concepts from the comments in red, as well as use thicker lines between concepts to indicate intensity or frequency. An example of a word map that I created through my analysis for each set of blogs is attached as Appendices E and F.

My third step was guided by questions laid out by Fairclough (1992), keeping in mind that he clearly states that researchers must choose those aspects most relevant to their analysis. Therefore, I created an analytical matrix (see Appendix G) that organized the specific aspects of analysis that I selected in order to explore the ways in which words, clauses, and sentences from the blog texts functioned discursively. This analysis included the following: (a) particular thematic structures; (b) bloggers' subject positions; (c) questions of discursive relations; (d) specific rhetorical strategies that were being employed to construct these arguments; and (e) intertextual references. Relying on both the word maps that I had created as well as the texts, I completed a matrix for each blog text and associated comments. This analytical move allowed me to explore questions relating to the next level of Fairclough's analysis, discursive practice, which pertains broadly to processes of production, distribution, and consumption of the text. Discourse practice may be particularly relevant to the analysis of weblogs insofar as the unique context of their production, consumption, and mediation affects their contributions to the discourse. This potentially provides insight into the functioning of blog discourses. Moreover, analysis of discourse practice, including how the bloggers and commenters interact with each other and with more imagined audiences, demonstrates how they constitute themselves as a collective community.

These types of discourse must then be related to the larger social practice in order to understand how they are used to construct orders and the effects of those orders on the larger discourse. This is the third and final level of analysis, which involves the analysis of the social matrix of discourse in which the texts exist. At this level, I compiled the data acquired in the matrices across each set of blogs for a broader understanding of the

specific context as a whole. I organized the answers for each analytical question that I employed in the previous step according to emergent themes and looked for the social implications of the blog discourse, focusing on the ideational productive functions of language (Fairclough, 1992). In this analysis, I examined how the subjectivities constructed by the bloggers had theoretical implications for contesting discourses and considered the ideological discourses that emerged from the texts, including the ways in which their discourses revealed sites of hegemonic struggle. This analysis helped reveal specific strategies that bloggers used to engage in the larger discourse.

Interpretations also required a close examination of the findings at all three levels to understand the linkages and connections amongst them. Therefore, although I have distinguished across the levels of analysis in defining my methodology, I did not necessarily view the three levels as being disparate or unrelated. Throughout the analytical process, I constantly reflected on how the findings reverberated with prior literature discussing immigration discourse, the positionings of undocumented immigrants and South Asian immigrants in the United States, and the discursive context of each set of blogs.

Conclusion

To answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1, I collected weblogs as texts that responded to specific events pertaining to the passage of SB 1070 in Arizona and Stein's column in *Time Magazine* about Edison, New Jersey. This approach allowed me to explore the discursive constructions of members of the immigrant communities interpellated by the identified discursive events in web-based vernacular discourse. By relying on Fairclough's method of critical discourse, I analyzed the texts at multiple

levels, focusing on the implications of discursive engagement as indicated by bloggers'

constructions of their subject positions.

CHAPTER 5: BLOG RESPONSES TO JOEL STEIN

In this and the following chapter, I analyze a set of weblogs and address the corresponding research question about how the bloggers construct their subject positions. I begin by presenting an overview of the major themes that I identified through the cluster analysis of the weblogs. This largely coincides with Fairclough's first level of analysis, which focuses on description of text, and is intended to be an overview that provides context for understanding the remainder of the analysis. The themes presented revolve around the *keywords* I identified in the blogs through my analysis. The keywords are displayed in Appendices H and I with the words that clustered around them, organized into subgroups; these clusters helped reveal the various subject positions that I discuss below.

In the following sections, I draw on Charland's framework of constitutive rhetoric to discuss the collective subject that is constituted by the bloggers and the various subject positions that make up the collective subject. I offer a sample of direct quotes[3] from the blog texts that exemplify the ways in which they describe, construct, produce, and/or reproduce their subject positions. Because texts can serve multiple functions, sometimes I use the same quotation in multiple sections, speaking to the different meanings that it constructs.

Specifically, I examine the various ways that the bloggers create identifications, using the three-part framework proffered in Chapter 2 of structural, trans-spatial/historical, and intergroup representational positionings. In doing so, I do not

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[3] The discursive norms within the form of weblogs specifically minimize the importance of proofreading for grammatical precision, including such aspects as capitalization, punctuation, and spelling. Therefore, I did not change the texts to suit scholarly norms of grammar, nor have I identified any such instances using the indicator "[*sic*]." All direct quotes have been directly cut and pasted from the blog texts in order to preserve their integrity.

suggest that all bloggers construct their subjectivities in all of the ways discussed here, but instead I explore the possibilities of a range of positionings and relations that emerge across the blogs. Moreover, the range of subject positions has implications not only for the tenuous boundaries of the collective status but also for the recurrent interpellation of the subjects by the discourse and the blogging community.

Themes

Looking across the Stein blog texts, I identified five major topics around which discussion revolved based on keywords: (a) immigration/immigrants; (b) South Asians/Indians/Desis; (c) American/United States/Edison; (d) race/racism/humor/satire; and (e) Stein/*TIME Magazine*.

"Immigration" or "Immigrants"

The topic of immigration is discussed extensively throughout the blogs in many different ways. It was commonly written about as a somewhat natural process of the movement of people. For instance, Anna (Stein #1) writes,

> You feel a "sense of loss" that your neighborhood isn't a shrine to your memories of it? Join the damned club, accidental racist. The rest of us just accept that such evolution is a part of reality; we understand it, we don't blame immigrants for it.

Inherent to this process, then, is the change that immigration brings to the culture and landscape. Gee Jay (Stein #4) writes, "Immigration at large number to another country or even a state changes its heritage." CurryBear (Stein #4) also humorously asserts,

> You know Joel, I understand where you're coming from. No one likes change, whether it's for good or bad. But one of those lame quotes I read on someone's Facebook profile said "Change is the one constant in this world". People change and places change. Did you honestly think that Edison would stay the same way even after you grew up and moved away? Is your penis the same size as it was when you were born? I hope not. If yes, may I suggest paying more attention to spam in your inbox?

Some bloggers also frame immigration as less natural and more determined by legislative policies. For example, nouf (Stein #1) writes, "Uncle Sam isn't rolling out the red carpet for Polish plumbers. The general American attitude about immigration has evolved from favoring Europeans to favoring educated people," highlighting the fact that immigration policies have often been influenced by issues of race and economic desirability. Prerna Lal (Stein #9) focuses on immigration as an exclusionary set of policies:

> For example, post-9/11 initiatives such as Alien Absconder and the required special registration of certain non-immigrant men pushed many innocent South Asians into indefinite detention and led to the deportation of at least 13,000 South Asian men, which devastated many families.

Consequently, the discussion of immigration incorporates the discussion of the role that it has played in the United States landscape.

Bloggers also consider the specific characteristics that have constituted desirable or undesirable immigrants. Just as nouf and Prerna Lal appear to write about the exclusionary framework critically, Maitri (Stein #1) also describes how dominant perceptions view Indian immigrants as progressively increasing in undesirability:

> Another thing that bothered me about the article is that we somehow failed Stein's initial rose-colored view of Indians as some sort of uber-race of doctors and engineers. We began to "bring over" the "losers" like the merchants and business owners and then they brought over the next "lower" rung of Indian humanity.

She disparages a system that only looks upon skilled medical and engineering professionals as desirable immigrants and disdains those of a different economic and educational status as "losers." On the other hand, others endorse such a system and call for it to be enhanced:

> This is what is so wrong with the American immigration system. The immigration of these unskilled people who immigrate to American on the basis of family

relations must be stopped. Immigration must be based on merit. Period. Same with the Illegals. They are unskilled, and a net fiscal drag. They must be deported. (TheOutFabber, Stein #3)

Still others do not explicitly evaluate the system but consider the viability of South Asian immigrants within this framework. For example, CurryBear (Stein #4) contends that Indian immigrants constitute desirable immigrants due to the overall lack of criminality amongst them.

> If all the Indians in Edison were criminals, then yes, I would support anti-immigration laws. The next time a bunch of Indians rob a Tilda Basmati truck in 3 suped up black Honda Civics, I promise you Joel I will start supporting anti-Immigration laws in Edison.

Trotsky23 (Stein #3) describes the general situation of South Asian immigration in the United States in the following summation:

> Also, there has been a significant demographic shift in the Indian immigrant population over the years (or, increase in demographic diversity). When my parents came, the only way in was a student visa or something equivalent that selected for the brain-drain population. Now our family-skewed point system has allowed a lot of less-impressive people in. Unlike the idiot above me though, I don't actually think they are a net drain on the economy. They actually are more assimilated than they get credit for (they can opt into an insular culture when they're in the neighborhood, but they follow a long tradition of FOBish Americans when they are elsewhere in being simultaneously integrated and clueless). They pursue the normal path to citizenship, hold jobs, create businesses, and raise idiot Jersey-children. What more do you want?

Implicit within both of these statements is an overall support of the immigration system in the United States but a disapproval of the treatment of Indians within it. As Indian immigrants are neither "criminals" nor "a net drain on the economy," U.S. immigration policy should be welcoming and not excluding them from the nation. In summary, a range of ideas and views about immigration were expressed throughout the Stein blogs wherein bloggers can be seen to uphold and challenge the system and nature of immigration to varying degrees.

"South Asians," "Indians," and "Desis"

Tied closely to their overall discussion of immigration, bloggers frequently examine the nature of the South Asian/Indian community in the United States. Samhita (Stein #2) asserts, "South Asians are a growing minority and have finally made it into the national spotlight over the last 10 years," identifying the community's overall significance within the nation. Robbie S (Stein #5) also includes the history of South Asian immigration to the United States in his post: "The story of the Indian and Indian-**American** communities does not start in 1965. It starts a century earlier in 1865 . . ." Bloggers also acknowledge and discuss the profound impact of the South Asian population on the town of Edison. For example, Gene (Stein #1) writes, "Edison is not just a town that has a sizeable number of Indians. It is a town that has been taken over by Indians." On the other hand, akshaytel (Stein #1) addresses that impact in a more positive manner: "I am so happy to see a little piece of India in Edison."

Bloggers also expound what it means to be a South Asian immigrant in the United States, bringing their personal experiences and identities into their blogs. Akshaytel (Stein #1) forefronts his post with a statement of his personal identity, "I am a third generation professional and first generation American." Radhika Marya (Stein #10) explicitly defines her sense of diasporic identification:

> But with all due respect, even though I'm of South Asian origin — which is why I was prompted to write this — I am not Indian in the sense you think I am. I have never lived in India, never identified myself by my race first, and often confuse Indians and non-Indians who expect me to adhere to particular "Indian" qualities. I can never go "back" to India like you've suggested. My indie rock-loving, Jersey self is just as American as you.

Finally, bloggers address the common perceptions of them by others and the perceptions they have of themselves. For example, Maitri (Stein #1) writes,

> I will also bitchslap the next person who says to me, "You people are so smart."
> You people. All so smart. No, we're not. And, thanks, we set ourselves up for
> failure very nicely all by ourselves and don't need you to do it.

She demonstrates the ambivalence described by many bloggers in terms of their production and reproduction into the model minority stereotype, a topic that I examine in more detail later in this chapter.

"America," "U.S.," and "Edison"

Bloggers also address their perceptions of the United States in general, and of Edison, NJ, specifically. They discuss aspects related to the people and cultures of these places as being tied to immigration. For example, Radhika Marya (Stein #10) writes about Edison, "Population: Brown people. Everywhere. This is not an original observation. Edison's heavy South Asian (mostly Indian) population is world renowned — noted in cultural studies textbooks and acknowledged by the South Asian diaspora." Mozunga (Stein #10) also writes about the United States,

> lest you forget, america being a country composed of immigrants from all over
> the world, america's culture is the culture of the world.and the world is not all
> white. . . . merica is a constantly evolving landscape. some places take longer to
> change, some faster. look at manhattan neighborhoods. nothing stays the same.
> years from now, edison may change into a latino neighborhood.

Along these lines, bloggers also discuss ways in which the United States and Edison have changed over the years. Robbie S. (Stein #5) attributes the population shift within Edison to a combination of both immigration and white flight:

> The point is that the "mostly white suburban town" that you left is still mostly
> "White." The Indian and Indian-**American** community is less than half of the
> township's total population. Presenting the story as only one of "immigration" is
> only a half-truth. Yes, "Asians" have immigrated, but "Whites" have also left, in
> large numbers. Nonetheless, the Indian and Indian-**American** communities are
> visible.

Finally, bloggers frequently discuss the quality of life in both the United States and in Edison. For example, Radhika Marya (Stein #10) describes Edison optimistically as "a culturally rich, and incredibly diverse environment." Krishna Shah (Stein #1) also offers a positive appraisal of both Edison and the United States, telling Stein,

> Some other things that might help calm your fears — Edison was ranked one of the best places to grow up in the entire nation by U.S. News & World Report. According to Money Magazine, it is also one of the best places to live in America. Maybe you should write to them and set them straight? .… In all seriousness, immigrants gave birth to America. I'm not sure what you had in mind for the future of "your town". If you can't stomach the changes in Edison, I'd strongly advise you not to travel around the nation — You might find that America "is totally unfamiliar to you".

On the other hand, NJ Bear (Stein #4) provides a more negative outlook on the changes that have occurred in the landscape of Edison:

> Unfortunately…..Edison has gone downlhill since the 80's. I have lived in NJ for 30 years. I know a lot of people that grew up in Edison in the 80s. They no longer want anything to do with Edison. They moved away from Edison soon after college. They see Edison as an immigration hub. They don't want to be a part of it as 1st/2nd generation Indian Americans.

KXB (Stein #1) addresses such changes with a degree of ambivalence and neutrality, pointing out that some aspects of Edison are positive while others are negative:

> But as others have pointed out, Stein overlooks the fact that Edison has a higher than average per capita income, plus highly rated schools and hospitals - it could have deteriorated given that is what usually happens with white flight. As far as the ugliness of the storefronts and strip malls - that is a complaint that is registered by all critics of suburban life - hardly unique to Edison.

Again, the discussions of the United States and Edison, NJ are closely related to the role that immigration has played to shape, construct, and change them. Bloggers profess a variety of opinions as to the nature of this relationship and the positive and negative consequences that immigration has had.

"Race," "Racism," and/or "Humor/Satire"

In a somewhat different direction, not directly related to the topic of immigration,

another frequent topic of discussion is about whether the column in question is in fact

"racist." Bloggers largely focus on the nature of racism. Proudindian (Stein #4) writes,

"The guy [Stein] is a piece of shit and needs to read Holocaust for toddlers to learn what

racism will do to his own kind!" By tying racism to the historical context of the

Holocaust, racism as a whole is associated with the violence that it entails. Moreover, it is

talked about in terms of the ignorance from which it stems:

> It just kind of chafes, knowing that Stein is talking about a really incredible
> amount of human suffering in dismissive terms, probably without ever having
> seen it or felt any personal connection to it. Stupid jokes about suffering and
> poverty in Africa and India are not uncommon in the media and they always
> bother me because by making these jokes, Americans are just creating another
> level of otherness for these fellow humans and removing themselves even further
> from their suffering. (armadillo, Stein #1)

These statements, then, also highlight the material realities and the violent consequences

of racism, emphasizing the seriousness of the matter. Consequently, bloggers also

contextualize the term "Dothead" that Stein uses in his column. Anna (Stein #1), for

example, writes,

> You "question" the quality of Edison's schools because you think "Dot Head"
> was a mediocre epithet? Would "dotbusters" have been more suitable? Yeah, I
> know, wrong place. They slaughtered a "Dot Head" for the crime of being Indian
> over in Jersey City, not your precious, quondam white Edison.

Siddique (Stein #10) also writes, "There were physical attacks on South Asians in Edison

by a group calling themselves dot buster. The term conjures bad memories. Not helped by

chill pills unfortunately." Through these statements, bloggers again write about racism as

tied to violent events in history, this time specifically addressing the violence experienced

by South Asians in the United States.

Bloggers also address the relationship between racism and humor and the issue of race-based satire. AC (Stein #1) challenges the validity of race-based satire altogether:

> I am sick of people using sarcasm and humor as shields for their obnoxiousness or bigotry. It's not okay. And they're not funny. They deserve to be called out. And people who were bothered by this don't deserve to be invalidated.

By referring to humor as a "shield for . . . bigotry," she denies that it can ever be harmless or acceptable, asserting that it always belies a racist attitude. Anand Sarwate (Stein #7) makes a similar claim by considering the targets of racial satire:

> What's really at stake is who gets to be the kicking boy for racial satire — one can say "every immigrant group gets to take its turn," but does that make it ok? Should we look at the anti-Semitic jokes of the late 19th and early 20th century US as good-natured if somewhat offensive joshing? Or Mickey Rooney's turn in *A Breakfast at Tiffany's*?

He points out that only the racial minorities are commonly satirized, providing specific examples, including "anti-Semitic jokes," tying racial satire again to the material violence that it generates. On the other hand, duh! (Stein #1) defends the nature of race-based satire: "Anna, if something is satire and written in the voice of the "dumb, white American," you can't say that the article went too far! It's satire - he's going to sound stupid because that's the point!!!"

More often, however, rather than dismissing race-based satire altogether, bloggers consider various criteria that determine its acceptability and success. What makes race-based satire successful or humorous, and what makes it simply racist? Where is the line drawn between edgy comedy and racist humor? For example, Prerna Lal (Stein #9) suggests that it should be judged on its level of humor:

> Joel Stein might be a writer with a knack for satire, but his latest *TIME Magazine* piece on how his beloved town in New Jersey was overrun by South Asian immigrants fails to tickle the funny bone. Satirical pieces are supposed to be humorous, but race-based satires are appalling when they fall flat.

Anna (Stein #1) suggests a similar criterion when she compares Stein's column to well-known comedian Dave Chappelle: "Do you know what the difference between your "race com" and Dave's is? Dave is funny. He is deft, artful, smart but most of all— he is Funny." SAI (Stein #10) also states, "It is not humorous or satirical, if the person you are laughing at is not laughing with you." These statements tend to suggest a higher standard to which race-based satire must be held:

> I actually thought the Stein piece was an attempt at Borat-style humor, where he seems to be making fun of Indians but is really turning the tables on whites who hold the bigotry which is satirized in the article. I think the execution wasn't 100% though so it still comes off as kind of insulting. (Ragavacharyar, Stein #1)

They do not criticize race-based satire as inherently racist but as having the potential to be racist if the humor is not compelling enough. However, jagr721 (Stein #1) challenges the legitimacy of this criterion, pointing out,

> The problem with accepting the white majority's rationale that "it's okay if it's funny" is that often jokes can be funny making the majority laugh uproariously while the minority cringes. Sure there are jokes at the expense of white people, but when you're in a dominant position, how much easier is it to laugh at yourself.

> Other bloggers raise the question of the race/ethnicity of the comedian as an

important criterion in the legitimacy of race-based satire:

> I think Joel needs to know that when making comical statements about an ethnic group, it usually helps to be of the same ethnicity. Black people can say the N-word all they want. But when a white man says it, black people get pissed off. Remember when Michael Richards from Seinfeld used the N-word couple years ago? That didn't end well for him. (CurryBear, Stein #4)

Similarly, Abhi (Stein #1) writes,

> This article reminds me of what happens when a white, hispanic, desi, etc. guy that lives in "the hood" (or pretends to) uses the "n" word. As an African American you might be like "whoa, that's our word, you shouldn't use that word. That's wrong." That's true, nobody should use that word, but the word has been used. Often the INTENT of the user, however unfunny and wrong, wasn't

malicious. They are just assuming insider status illegitimately. Similarly, in Stein's essay I got the distinct impression that he probably has Indian American friends and decided that gave him the right to write like one. Slightly misguided? Yes. Racist? Come on people!

While both CurryBear and Abhi suggest that "insider status" helps validate the use of race-based humor, Abhi also brings up intent as a potential benchmark for race-based satire. Bloggers vary on the extent to which they consider intent as a mitigating factor with regard to offensive humor. Gautam Jois (Stein #8) seems to disregard it, stating, "His attempt at humor (and I'm being charitable; maybe he really *did* intend to write a racist screed) falls flat precisely because it seems to belie an underlying xenophobia." To him, intention is minimally relevant in evaluating the legitimacy of such discourse.

Finally, bloggers consider the possibility that race-based satire may be judged according to the level of racism within the targeted community. For example, Amardeep (Stein #1) proclaims, "There are plenty of people within the Indian community (either established immigrants, or second gens/ABDs) who talk exactly like this about more recent immigrants. Let's take a look in the mirror, shall we?" Similarly, Long Vacation (Stein #1) writes,

> All I am saying is that I have seen waaay more brown on brown bigotry in the US than white on brown or black on brown etc. If you were to take a quick headcount here of how many of us teased and shrunk away from FOBs or still caricature them on a regular basis, I'm sure you wouldn't be shocked by the result.

These bloggers suggest that high levels of racism within the community negate community members' standing to challenge racism targeted at them from without, a proposition that other bloggers refute. Anna (Stein #1), for example, asserts, "Hmmm. So if brown people are ignorant or rude to each other, it's fine for whites or others to demean

us, as well? No. One does not enable or validate the other." Similarly, PS (Stein #1) writes,

> Last I heard, war is ravaging many of the world (oh outside of India and South Asia) based on tribal, religious, hair texture lines. So please spare me with the b/c some Indians are racist that that means anybody can say anything offensive about Indians. Guess what lots of Jewish people, whites, Africans, Middle Eastersn and other Asians are racist too. Why don't we just get rid of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, b/c I'm sure there's someone in those minority populations that come from racist, casteist, tribalistic, cultural values.

In sum, while bloggers largely perceive the nature of racism as having its basis in ignorance and violence, they extensively debate its relationship with satire or humor. Their opinions vary as to the specific criteria that determine the appropriateness of race-based satire, such as its hilarity, specific characteristics of either the speaker or the target, intent, or even whether such satire is ever appropriate at all. The scope of this debate then plays a role in the next theme, wherein bloggers discuss Joel Stein and *TIME Magazine*.

"Stein" and "*TIME Magazine*"

Bloggers frequently write about their readings and interpretations of Stein's column. For example, several bloggers identify Stein's statement, "In the 1990s, the not-as-brilliant merchants brought their even-less-bright cousins, and we started to understand why India is so damn poor" as the most problematic. Sanjay (Stein #1) describes it as the "WORST PARTS OF HIS RANT." Melvin (Stein #1) suggests, "It was funny until that last bit -- which made it unfunny. How about ' ... and we started to understand why there was a line outside the astrologist's shop.'" On the other hand, Pravin (Stein #1) agrees with that same statement, "[H]e was spot on when he talked about the changing nature of Indian immigration. I too used to think all Indian immigrants were brilliant until I ventured out to NJ in the 90s."

In addition to criticizing specific pieces of the column, some bloggers highlight

aspects from it that they agree with and support Stein's arguments:

> I think that I can relate to what he's saying. The other communities, such as
> Chinese, Italians, Ashkenazi Jews, etc. - all have enhanced the landscape and
> architectural landscape of whatever city they live in. Indians don't enhance the
> beauty of a town, from what I've seen. We do, however, decrease the crime,
> convert by gentrification very dangerous places to very safe ones (i.e. Queens and
> Jackson Heights), and yes, we make so much money, but we don't enhance the
> land. We come here as RENTERS and not fully integrated property-owners.
> (boston_mahesh, Stein #1)

Therefore, in presenting their interpretations of Stein's column, they offer a variety of

perspectives and points of view.

Bloggers often discuss Joel Stein as the author of the column, focusing on his

history and identity as a white Jewish American writing this column. For example,

feynman007 (Stein #3) writes, "If he were a little better aware of his own ancestry and

history, he would not be spreading such hatred against an ethnic minority." PS (Stein #1)

also states,

> I would assume that Mr. Stein ancestors come from Europe, where a large
> percentage of Jewish populations lived in abject poverty or serfdom, such as in
> Russia. Really were those Jewish populations that poor b/c they weren't bright?
> Did all their cousins who came and lived in tenements and faced xenophobia and
> poverty in lower eastside Jewish quarters in nyc suddenly grow a brain. What a
> stupid, stupid thing to say, especially considering the abject poverty of many
> Jewish populations in Europe.

By highlighting this history of Jewish persecution and poverty, bloggers emphasize his

hypocrisy in writing an article that denigrates South Asians.

Bloggers also raise concerns about *TIME Magazine* publishing such a column.

They express surprise that a publication of such stature and reputation would print a piece

that is so problematic. Talis4 (Stein #3) declares, "He [Stein] displays an intolerance,

arrogance and down-right ignorance that should not be given a forum in Time

Magazine." Along the same lines, Ragavacharyar (Stein #1) explains,

> My issue is with Time, a supposedly newsworthy magazine that published this. I can see this being in someone's comedic monologue or on someone's blog and it being able to be dismissed easily, but the fact that a prominent news magazine published this I find quite disturbing.

While Ragavacharyar appears to indicate that the piece would perhaps be more

acceptable in a different forum, Samhita (Stein #2) argues that the piece would be

problematic regardless of its setting but that the setting indeed makes it worse:

> There are few things sadder than reading a writer that is so caught up in their own ego, racism and bad writing that they don't even have the foresight to see how poorly their piece has not only come across but will be received. The only thing sadder is that TIME chose to run it.

Finally, bloggers also express what constitutes appropriate and inappropriate

responses to the Stein article by the South Asian community. Some bloggers support

inaction as the appropriate response. For example, Abhishek (Stein #4) tells the

community, "Dont write to TIME magazine in the spirit of 'I'll tell my mom on you'."

Along the same lines, EMERALDJADE (Stein #3) writes, "We can respectfully disagree

with Mr. Stein; allow him his freedom of speech, realize TIME is not our magazine but a

free-speech publication-- and move on, can't we?" Anurag Mishra (Stein #1) also

declares, "Get a life people. You have just been made fun off, not a big deal. Move on."

Others strongly advocate action through a letter-writing campaign to *TIME*

Magazine. Samhita (Stein #2) suggests to her readers, "Email the editors at TIME and let

them know this type of writing is totally unacceptable for a magazine that is patronized

by South Asians and considered an industry standard for weekly news." Similarly

Gautam Jois (Stein #8) proposes,

So take a minute click this link, and petition Time Magazine to respond to Stein's article. Unlike in much of the world, Stein has a right to write whatever kind of article wants, racist, ill-informed, or otherwise. But he should defend his views, if he really does hold them, or publicly explain his motivations in writing the article, if he does not.

Still others promote a boycott of *TIME Magazine*, such as Veer (Stein #4), who writes, "Rise up all south asians -not just indians. Boycott Time magazine & it's sponsors & advertisers."

Some bloggers are more abstract and less specific in their calls for action, such as Prerna Lal (Stein #9), who writes, "*TIME* and Joel Stein must be held accountable for their incredibly tasteless piece," and Ragavacharyar's (Stein #1) assertion that "A message needs to be sent by the Indian community to Time magazine that this is not acceptable in 2010." CurryBear (Stein #4) humorously recommends,

If you're going to email Joel, then don't email him an angry rant. Email him nice messages telling him that Indians are not here to ruin his life and his once sweet home. Tell him that he doesn't have to be afraid of the changes in Edison. Tell him that you'll take him out to dinner at Moghul. Send some laddoos to his office. It is easy to be angry and let our emotions take over. But it is much harder for us to keep our composure and show our compassion. You will only alienate people like Joel further if you treat him like an enemy. But if you show him compassion and show him your good character, you might turn an enemy into a friend.

Constituting Subject Positions

In this section, I explore ways in which Stein bloggers constitute themselves as a collective subject. In other words, what are the specific discursive strategies that they utilize in order to form a community of subjects interpellated by Stein's column? I then analyze the complex points of identification that produce the collective subject, as they are constructed in relation to structures, trans-spatial/historical locations, and intergroup representations.

Constituting a Collective Subject

The Stein bloggers construct an ontological status consisting of a sense of community primarily by using language in ways that create a sense of identification amongst each other; the most common of such words is "desi," which I identified as a keyword due to its frequency. It not only refers to the people and cultures of the Indian subcontinent but more specifically to the South Asian diaspora, within which it carries a connotation of group membership and belonging. For example, in referring to the economic standing of the South Asian community in the United States, akshaytel (Stein #3) refers to the "desi owned hotel properties." Samhita (Stein #2) also writes, "Desis have thus far been the butt of jokes" when referencing the experiences of the South Asian community in the United States. Moreover, the term presumes an inclusive status of both the bloggers and readers, as they must understand the meanings and connotations of the term. This presumption can be seen in SM Intern's (Stein #1) mention of bigotry within the South Asian community, in which he states, "This article is not a lot worse than what many brown people do - and I have yet to see a post here or on any desi blog about that." Even though SM Intern disagrees with the poster's sense of outrage about the article, he/she still turns to "desi" blogs for a space wherein these issues can be addressed, the collectivity being constituted prevailing over the individual differences. SM Intern further uses the term "brown" as a unifying racial signifier for South Asians, one notably not in use and less permissible in mainstream, i.e., white, discourse. Bloggers and readers therefore are interpellated into an "insider" status by using words and terms that are either known or acceptable only within the imagined community.

Additional constructions of community can also be found within the blogs. For example, CurryBear (Stein #4) uses the phrase "my fellow" and the word "we" to construct a relationship within the community: "Finally, to all my fellow Indians . . . how should we react to all this?" Using this phrase suggests a community amongst the bloggers implicated in a group response to the article. Moreover, the collective subject expands somewhat from identification with the Indian nation to across the subcontinent and even continent. Bloggers frequently use the label "South Asian" interchangeably with "Indian" or "Desi." Curry Bear calls to "my fellow Pakistanis, Sri Lankans & Bangladeshis who are like collateral damage in Joel's article." Sanjay (Stein #6) specifically asserts,

> "If I wanted to discuss this as an exclusive Indian issue, I would have submitted to The Sepia Mutiny . . . Had this piece been about Korean Americans, Vietnamese Americans (or any other APAs), I would be EQUALLY mad and outraged."

He calls into question discursive moves that distinguish these categories, identifying them instead as "APA," or Asian-Pacific American.

In addition, Stein bloggers cite an already-established community amongst the blog participants that serves as another level of interpellation. For example, one of the blog sites is titled "8 Asians" to "reflect the spirit of community on this blog" (Stein #6). Sanjaybay21a (Stein #6) then mentions "my fellow 8 Asians," referring to the name of the blog site and calling upon its community. Similarly, Anna (Stein #1) at one point writes,

> Sorry, Mutineers— I'm going to have to ask you to stop reading this blog and look away for a moment. I love you too much to let you watch what happens next. Tearing someone a new arsehole is a brutal, violent act and you shouldn't have to see that. Now go. Study some maths while I take care of this, nah? Acha, beta.

Incorporating both the name of the blog site (Sepia Mutiny) as well as Hindi words, she helps construct this imagined community. Moreover, she specifically indicates a sense of affection for and a desire to protect the people within this community from further retaliatory violence by saying "I love you too much" and "Acha, beta" (which, roughly translated, means "okay, child"). The community even extends across blogs, as Sanjay (Stein #1) writes in the Sepia Mutiny blog, "AGREED- check out my rant at 8asians." These comments demonstrate the linkages amongst the blog sites that contribute to a larger community amongst bloggers and readers.

The blogging community is often distinguished from white U.S. Americans in a manner that constructs a positive self in relation to a negative other, an important move in constituting a collective subject (Charland, 1987). For example, Samhita (Stein #2) states, "Growing up South Asian in the United States around a bunch of racists was a really challenging experience for me and my South Asian friends and family." This statement reconfigures the framing of a positive "us," indicative of "friends and family," versus a negative "them," defined as "a bunch of racists" and contributes to a positive identification with the South Asian community. It specifically distinguishes the ontological status of the blogging community from the undesirable Other through an explicitly negative construction of that Other. This construction is continued wherein bloggers specifically call attention to the hypocrisy of white U.S. Americans who, they point out, complain about the influx of immigrants and immigrant culture but then violently force their own cultures elsewhere:

> Americans or Europeans also tend to impose their flavor of culture in other countries they go to ... in Afganistan, I remember reading that the Green Zone has bars and food incompatible with local culture but to cater to the American tastes. The province of Helmand was once called as Helmandshire due to the british

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influence on it. Read up on History further on the british and other european empires and missionaries ... the spread of Christianity in the east and the English language in countries including India would not have occurred if even a sizable minority in those countries were as racist and xenophobic in their thoughts as you. (Srini Venkat, Stein #5)

This criticism implicates the ongoing colonialist history of the United States and other white European nations, of which India is positioned as a victim. The discourse further constructs a basis for the transhistorical identification and construction of the blogging community as an ontological status, coming together to challenge their subjugation. Moreover, Stein is positioned as a member of this negative out-group. As a Jew, he can pass as white and claim a "white authentic identity" (Samhita, Stein #2). Bloggers implicitly distinguish him from the collective self as a perpetrator, not a victim, of racism. Therefore, he is described as racist and xenophobic, positioned as exerting his dominance and power through his column: "Finally, Joel, your xenophobic and reactionary rambling has no place in the immigration debate, much less in a serious discussion of integration and citizenship" (Robbie S., Stein #5). Sanjay (Stein #6) begins his blog with the picture of Stein in Figure 1. Robbie S (Stein #5) points out Stein's duplicity, "Perhaps, Joel, you would find a friend in Samuel Gompers whose statues mocks me on my way to work," comparing him to a British immigrant to the United States in the 19th century who hypocritically lobbied against unrestricted European immigration to the United States.

Figure 1. Joel Stein

This statement also demonstrates a common practice of shifting between the

community as audience and Stein, or white people in general, as audience, reflecting how

bloggers' choices in addressing their audience(s) also help to construct their ontological

status. Shifts can be seen in CurryBear's (Stein #4) blog, in which he initially refers to

Stein in the third person: "I believe that Joel was trying to be funny but didn't quite

succeed. Oh, and he just might be a little racist." He then asserts, "Joel had a lot of

questions/comments in his article. I figured I'd try to respond to them." This statement

marks a distinct shift in CurryBear's language insofar as he alters his audience to be Stein

and addresses him directly:

> Well Joel, Edison was not chosen randomly. It was Manifest Destiny. Indians
> have a belief that they are destined for Westward expansion. You remember
> Manifest Destiny from History class right? It is the same belief Americans used in
> the 1800s to acquire more land and kill an entire ethnic group of, ironically,
> Indians. Now that Indians have taken over your childhood town, you can think of
> this as karma.

Towards the end of the blog, he returns to the collective community as audience by

offering advice as to how to respond to Stein, who returns to a third person reference:

"You will only alienate people like Joel further if you treat him like an enemy. But if you show him compassion and show him your good character, you might turn an enemy into a friend." Irony and sarcasm underscore the portions of the texts that directly address Stein, and there are obvious alterations of tone across the various portions of the texts based on the nature of the audience being constructed. For example, when Anna (Stein #1) addresses Stein, she often switches to capital letters:

> YEAH, you accidentally racist, hypocritical JERK! You pee sitting DOWN in MY HOUSE! And it IS my house! I'm Indian! THAT'S WHAT WE DO, MF! WE BUY HOUSES! WITH RESPONSIBLE MORTGAGES! WHICH WE PAY OFF EARLY! BIATCH! Oh, sorry, little ones. Didn't know you were already back from mastering "Nonlinear Dynamics and Chaos."

As she returns to addressing the collective community, she resumes a calmer, more paternalistic tone that signifies compassion and affinity. Such shifts in audience function to reinforce notions of who is within and without the community. Stein is constructed as an Other to be challenged within the space of the blogs; only the most ironic comments are directed *to* him whereas the remainder of the text merely refers to him in the third person, as outside the scope of the collective subject. Moreover, even though these comments are ostensibly directed at Stein, their irony and sarcasm clearly indicate that the collective subject remains the primary audience throughout, both interpellated and united by the catharsis of the outrage directed at Stein and his column.

Consequently, the Stein bloggers are called into being as a collective subject through their multiple intersecting levels of interpellation by the blog community, the South Asian community, and Stein's column. The construction of the collective subject is a way of bringing together multiple points of identification. In the following sections, I analyze those identifications by looking at how bloggers construct and (re)produce their

specific subject positions in relation to institutional structures, trans-spatial/historical

locations, and intergroup representations. This analysis entails understanding the

combination of ways in which the bloggers describe their positions as already

determined, challenge some of these positions in their blogs, as well as (re)produce those

positionings through their discourse.

Structural Positionings

This section is focused on the positionings of the bloggers in relation to extant

institutional structures, but I also suggest that the construction of those structures through

discourse is pertinent to a complete understanding of how bloggers construct their

subjectivities in relation to them. My analysis of the blogs revealed that the Stein

bloggers predominantly implicate the nation-state and economic class, two of the three

structures proposed by Drzwiecka and Halualani (2002). Therefore, I examine their

discursive constructions of those structures and their subject positions relative to them.

The racialized nation-state and immigrants.

The bloggers' discourses frequently construct Edison and the United States as

white societies. For example, CurryBear (Stein #4) writes,

> You can either be fearful of the changes, or you can embrace them. It is your
> choice. You could have written a nice, polite article about how Edison has
> changed due to the increase in Indian population. But you decided to write an
> angry rant about how Indians have ruined your precious 'white' town.

This statement emphasizes the historical whiteness of the societal structure within the

United States and the exclusion of "ruinous" minority races from it. Notably, quotation

marks around the word "white" also indicate a critique of this premise due to its

hypocrisy. Anna (Stein #1), for instance, addresses Stein,

> I forgot to ask— what tribe are you a part of? You couldn't possibly be the descendant of immigrants if you hold such exclusionary, retrograde views, so I'm assuming you are one of the only real Americans, because if you're not an indigenous person, that would make you a giant, flaming hypocrite. And if you were an indigenous person and you held these views, well, I'd understand you a bit more but I'd still think you were a dick.

The term "indigenous" here highlights the fact that white Americans are not "native" to America, hence the insincerity of claims to the inherent whiteness of the nation. Moreover, dark_morgaine (Stein #2) points out the expansive nature of the "white" identity that in fact facilitates this construction: "One could argue that the whole continent has been overrun with white people, who after all are the children of immigrants from Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. Yes, the term 'white' includes all these people now." Hence, bloggers simultaneously recognize and problematize the discursive construction of the United States as a white structure.

Having established the whiteness of the societal structure, many bloggers construct their own subject positions as South Asians as excluded from this structure in material ways, including the obstacles posed to entry, employment, and professional and personal fulfillment. Prerna Lal (Stein #9) writes of these obstacles:

> Stein conveniently ignores the fact that family members from India face some of the longest waiting times among all would-be immigrants, and are more likely to be caught in family unification and employer visa backlogs. As if that weren't bad enough, workplace abuse and lack of provisions for foreign-born children of H1-B workers — who alone make up one-third of the H1-B employer visa applicant pool — likewise make life more difficult for South Asians.

In addition, because of this external positioning, their immigration to and presence in the United States is perceived as an intrusion upon that national structure. Bloggers imply a negative effect or influence, "[t]hat we are 'foreigners' who've taken over an American town, and made it unrecognizable to the 'real Americans' like Joel who grew up there"

(Sam, Stein #1). Samhita (Stein #2) argues that instead of writing about either the positive contributions of the South Asian community or the oppression that the community faces, Stein "suggest[s] that the main malaise of the growing South Asian population in the United States as a series of cultural disruptions, annoyances, badly thought out racial slurs and smelly food." Consequently, South Asians are positioned in relation to the white national structure as perpetual outsiders who bring only negative change with them.

The racialized economic structure and immigrants.

Bloggers' discourses also construct their subject positions in relation to economic structures, often referencing an international economic structure constructed through economic policies. While "America" may be described as "developed" and "extremely wealthy," India is recognized as "incomprehensibly poor" as a result of "IMF policies." Bloggers address this economic structure in the context of Stein's assertion, "In the 1990s, the not-as-brilliant merchants brought their even-less-bright cousins, and we started to understand why India is so damn poor." Paro (Stein #1) problematizes the logic that Stein applies here:

> That line was the part of the article that bothered me the most; as if it was possible to attribute the poverty of a whole nation to the " even-less-bright cousins" of merchants, engineers etc. Stein's line of reasoning reminds me of the earlier theories on economic development that claim poverty in the 3rd world can be explained by the characteristics of '3rd world' people themselves(i.e their non Western culture), not external or historical conditions.

Bloggers attempt to provide a more plausible and realistic explanation for India's poverty in terms of their historic and contemporary subjugation. For example, Curry Bear (Stein #4) states, "Did you know that prior to the British takeover, India was the richest

country in the world? True story. It only became poor after the British came in and stole all the resources. Whitey be holding us down yo." Similarly, mussari (Stein #3) writes,

> But the part where he says "...and we started to understand why India is so damn poor" is pretty offensive. Y'know, since the USA and other developed nations kinda set India up with the IMF in the first place to create specialized goods and services for the rest of the world (but mostly the U.S.), which in turn left certain areas extremely wealthy and most others incomprehensibly poor.

These discourses draw upon colonial and colonialist policies to construct a hierarchical international economic structure based upon exploitation within which India (and other South Asian nations) occupies a low status position. By situating India within this structure, bloggers challenge Stein's logic that isolates India as the cause of its own poverty.

This same economic structure is then described as reproduced within the context of the United States, with South Asian immigrants relegated to the lower rung. Bloggers carve out a ghettoized status within this economic structure into which South Asians are driven and then respond to this positioning primarily in two different ways. The first is by acknowledging this lower economic class of South Asians and distancing themselves from it. For example, TheOutFabber (Stein #3) writes,

> First, Stein is absolutely correct about the not-so talented group of Indians who have made their way to America, do not do anything substantial, and are a net drag to the American Economy. (They don't become skilled laborers, yet because they are Legal, they draw in the benefits)
>
> On top of that, these are the same group of people who fail to assimilate properly into America (the one's who still have not touched beef even after years of being in America and cling on to their religion and culture) and are a source of embarrassment for professional/skilled worked class Indian-American.

TheOutFabber's language constructs a group of "not-so talented Indians" that he attempts to separate from his own group of "professional/skilled worked class Indian-American,"

referring to the former as "they" and as a "source of embarrassment." Moreover, he

problematically assumes that both professional status and complete assimilation are

desirable, superior, and connected. Within this structure, he implicitly positions himself

as occupying a higher status than the less-educated members of the South Asian

community. This move also underscores the fragmentation of identification based on

class differentiation.

Other bloggers' discourses can be seen as in fact overcoming this fragmentation

by emphasizing the economic contributions and positive role that Indians play in the U.S.

economy, thereby raising the status of the entire South Asian community within this class

structure. For example, Srini Venkat (Stein #5) writes,

> Your [Stein's] ignorance of the contribution of Indians to property, income, sales,
> FICA and other forms of taxes is laughable. If you are even marginally intelligent,
> you shouldn't have any trouble in Googling the raw numbers on these ... I'd
> probably not be lying if I said that Indians perhaps contribute to these tax buckets
> manifold more than they consume.

Bloggers proudly highlight specific businesses in which South Asian-Americans, both

blue-collar and white-collar, excel. Although many of these professions are often seen as

stereotypical, in this context, they demonstrate how the bloggers are constructing their

subject positions as successful members of the U.S. economic structure. For example,

akshaytel (Stein #3) writes,

> I am a third generation professional and first generation American. I am so happy
> to see a little piece of India in Edison. Not everyone has the opportunity to obtain
> a professional education. Those Indian Americans that work in doughnut shops,
> restaurants, gas stations and drive cabs are hard working tax paying Americans.

In this statement, akshaytel clearly speaks from the position of a white-collar,

professional Indian-American, but rather than distancing himself from blue-collar

workers, he includes blue-collar workers and thereby positions the entire community

relatively high within the U.S. American economic structure due their overall productivity. A similar positionality can be seen in the following comment by CurryBear (Stein #4):

> As for your comment regarding the "not-as-brilliant merchants", well, that's questionable. Indians run a majority of businesses like Dunkin Donuts, Subways, newspaper stands, gas stations, hotels, motels, convenient stores, and many more things, both big and small. Most of them are running their business legitimately. I don't think they are running a Ponzi scheme and robbing people of their life savings with bad investments.

This comment also constructs South Asian Americans as holding high moral ethics in their business standards, implicitly positioning them higher than Jewish businessmen in the United States with a not-so-subtle nod to Bernie Madoff, a stockbroker and investment adviser who operated a large-scale Ponzi scheme . Therefore, economic status is constructed as a combination of monetary value, professional status, entrepreneurship, and professionalism.

While the two approaches to constructing the economic positioning of South Asians are ostensibly distinct and even oppositional at times, they both function to highlight the relative economic privilege entrenched in the subject positions of the South Asian blogging community. This privilege entitles them to make a decision about distancing themselves from or associating themselves with working class South Asians, with the similar goal of challenging their perceived lower status within the economic structures.

Trans-Spatial/Historical Positionings

This section is focused on how Stein bloggers construct their subject positions in relation to trans-spatial/historical locations in order to negotiate belongingness, drawing upon the distinction between place and space, the latter being a more fluid construction

subject to the influence of the people within it. I demonstrate here how South Asian bloggers construct their subject positions in relation to their historical movement across cultural spaces. I also examine how South Asian bloggers' construct their identities as U.S. Americans through a trans-spatial/historical construction of the United States as a multicultural land of immigrants. Finally, I explore how they construct their identities in the context of discourses of assimilation, integration, and hybridity.

Charland (1987) contends that the transhistorical subject creates identification by relying on the rhetorical appeal of ancestry. This move can be seen amidst Stein bloggers' sense of connection to past, present, and future generations of Indian immigrants. Robbie S. (Stein #5), for example, writes about the community as "an Indian-American community with links to India and roots in the U.S." Amardeep (Stein #1) refers to "plenty of people within the Indian community (either established immigrants, or second gens/ABDs)." The key to the construction of the subject position here is in fact common ancestry traced to India despite spatial and temporal distance from it.

At the same time, a strong sense of diasporic identification, located in relation to both South Asian and U.S. American cultures—their past and present—is an important part of how bloggers construct their subjectivities. Nowhere is this identification more than visible than in Radhika Marya's (Stein #10) declaration, "[E]ven though I'm of South Asian origin . . . I have never lived in India . . . [and] I can never go 'back' to India like you've suggested. My indie rock-loving, Jersey self is just as American as you." She complicates the diasporic nature of transhistorical identification; she has never lived in India and "can never go 'back,'" yet her identification encompasses both her "South

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Asian origin" and her "Jersey self." She disrupts simplistic notions of "home" and "host" cultures while constructing her own identity as an "indie rock-loving, Jersey self."

Bloggers' discourses also construct their claims to belongingness around avowals of their U.S. American identities. They demonstrate explicit avowals of an American identity, defining it in terms of citizenship, whether by birth or otherwise. A crucial aspect of this subject position entails the spatial construction of the U.S. community as a multicultural land of immigrants. Some bloggers naturalize immigration as a part of the United States' history, constructing another dimension of the transhistorical subject, again tied to shared historical experiences. In the following statement, mozunga (Stein #10) connects immigration to a common historical identity of all U.S. Americans:

> lest you forget, america being a country composed of immigrants from all over the world, america's culture is the culture of the world.and the world is not all white. unless you are 100% native american, then you are a descendent of immigrants that have changed the way this country looks. where is the native american culture? america is a constantly evolving landscape. some places take longer to change, some faster. look at manhattan neighborhoods. nothing stays the same. years from now, edison may change into a latino neighborhood.

In addition, some bloggers cast the ethnically diverse communities of immigrants in a positive light, as they labor to construct a space for themselves to belong. Samhita (Stein #2) writes,

> So while Stein is pissed that when he goes home to Edison (from his Cheslea home that is surrounded by "transvestite hookers"–see he is just pure vile), and tries to give a snarky commentary about a rather phenomenal situation, he makes it all about himself, totally alienating several generations of immigrants that have worked to build not only their own communities, but the very bedrock of US society.

Samhita uses words and phrases such as "phenomenal," "generations of immigrants," and "bedrock of US society" specifically to enmesh the South Asian immigrant community within the chronicle of the United States. Moreover, this history of the South Asian

community is constructed as no different from the histories of every other community in the United States:

> Everyone seems to forget that once upon a time, their families came here and everyone thought they were weird, smelled funny, ate odd things, and were going to destroy the fabric of America. In the end, our culture has only grown richer. (Tapati, Stein #2)

As mentioned earlier, claims of positive economic contributions are used to position themselves upwards in terms of hierarchical class structures; these claims also serve to position the bloggers as an integral component of the United States as a cultural space. Some bloggers' discourses indicate an argument that their economic contributions have not only raised the economic status of the South Asian-American community but have overall benefitted the U.S. American societies in which they live by, for example, decreasing crime or improving the level of education. The implication is that the removal of South Asians from the U.S. map would in fact have deleterious effects on U.S. culture and the standard of living, making South Asians vital to the community and therefore bolstering their claims to belong to it. Bloggers also focus on South Asians' contributions to the U.S. community that extend beyond the economic realm. They indicate that their mere presence enhances the quality of life in the community, thereby solidifying their claims to that community. For example, Srini Venkat (Stein #5) writes, "From Yoga to the Venture Capitalists in Silicon Valley, Indians do not just coexist but have only benefited the American culture in a very positive and enriching manner."

However, bloggers' discourses also reveal a subjugated positioning that requires their assimilation[4] into U.S. American culture. They reflect the contradiction between, on

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[4] According to Berry (1990), assimilation differs from integration in that the former entails a low maintenance of one's home culture while the latter entails a high maintenance one's culture; however, both involve a high level of establishment of relationships with one's host culture.

the one hand, a mainstream expectation of assimilation for immigrants and, on the other,

the constructed opposition between South Asians immigrants as a cultural other and the

"local" (i.e., white) American population:

> But really, what bothers me about this piece, why it didn't strike me as satire, is
> that it seems to assume that there really is a dominant narrative out there, i.e. that
> "white" culture is where it's at. Assimilation is not an option, it's a requirement
> for these rude new aliens – but of course, that assimilation is on the dominant
> narratives terms. (Anand Sarwate, Stein #7)

According to Sarwate, "'white' culture'" is constructed as oppositional to the culture of

these "rude new aliens," and yet expectations of assimilation "require" the bloggers to

adopt the "'white' culture," evincing an apparent contradiction.

This paradox is further illustrated by the examination of well-known South Asian-

American public figures. On the one hand, some bloggers highlight the prominence of the

South Asian community. Samhita (Stein #2) writes, "South Asians are a growing

minority and have finally made it into the national spotlight over the last 10 years. . ." By

emphasizing the emergent fame of South Asian-American personalities, she makes yet

another argument for their significance within the U.S. culture. On the other hand, such

references also call attention to the expectation that members of the South Asian

immigrant community must negotiate their identities in specific ways in order to be

recognized within the mainstream U.S. community:

> Despite progress by South Asian groups, we still live in an America in which
> American-born Kal Penn (of *Harold and Kumar*) is one of South Asia's few
> representations in mainstream entertainment. It's a country in which Bollywood
> star and former Miss World Aishwarya Rai is white-washed in ads for L'Oreal,
> while the most popular Indian-American politicians — Nikki Haley and Bobby
> Jindal — have to adopt ambiguous American nicknames to be accepted. (Prerna
> Lal, Stein #9)

Srini Venkat (Stein #5) argues that this is not a form of assimilation to which all Indians are amenable:

> Indians have a long history and heritage of their proud culture ... they will not change their names to Bob and Jim and Kim and Amy in one generation (perhaps not in many) ... since the names are coined by complex sanskrit phonemes.

Therefore, many bloggers refuse a positioning that mandates their complete assimilation through a renunciation of all indicators of South Asian-ness and instead construct their identities as integrated with U.S. culture—that they have maintained certain aspects of their South Asian cultures and adopted other aspects of the U.S. American culture according to their own prerogatives. For example, Robbie S. (Stein #5) asks of Stein, "[Y]ou think that anyone stepping on these shores should abandon their cuisine, movies, and groceries just because it doesn't please you? Just because you were born here?" He challenges any expectation imposed upon him of assimilating into white U.S. American culture. Bloggers also draw upon a sense of Indian-cultural pride to claim their integrated identities:

> And anyone with an ounce of intelligence will realize that once the American born Indian kids grow up, they are integrated into mainstream society (look up the term ABCD). The first generation retains the language and culture. The second generation acts and sounds American. This trend has played out for all ethnic groups. (Siddique, Stein #10)

"ABCD" stands for "American-Born Confused Desi" and is commonly used by those from India to derogate those born in the United States of Indian descent. However, in this context, Siddique proclaims the acronym as a signifier of integration; "confused" refers to the neither-here-nor-there identities of second-generation South Indians due to their footing in multiple cultural spaces. As generations progress, community members gradually experience greater levels of integration into the U.S. culture. Not assimilating is

no longer a failure but an active decision on the part of first-generation immigrants and a natural aspect of the experiences of future generations.

Moreover, having constructed the United States as a space of diversity and multiculturalism, refusal to completely assimilate repositions the South Asian immigrant community as a part of, rather than apart from, the U.S. community. Radhika Marya (Stein #10) recalls the multiculturalism of Edison:

> My Edison — the same Edison Stein puts down with hostile humor — is a place where I could openly embrace my family's culture and learn about others. White, black, Indian, and Chinese students alike attended garba events at our high school. Kids of all races danced together to Fatboy Slim at school talent shows, and interracial dating wasn't a big deal. We all had our teen dramas to deal with, but we all appreciated each other's differences — and were better people for it.

Radhika's framing of multiculturalism as pluralism illustrates how she views South Asians as equal participants in a diverse civil society, both contributing to and benefitting from it. Robbie S. (Stein #5) frames multiculturalism in line with a version of hybridity (Flusty, 1995; García-Canclini, 1995):

> The point is that this is America. Edison is not India in America. Edison is an interesting meeting place, where some imprint of India has been made onto America. You're right, it's not your old Edison and it's certainly not Baroda... it's something new.

If South Asians have played a role in creating a new third culture, then the community has become an indelible feature of the space.

Given the context of the original article, this space is most frequently constructed around the town of Edison, New Jersey. Some bloggers indicate a sense of sentimental and familial attachment to the city that forges a claim to belongingness. Radhika Marya (Stein #10) even titles her post, "CONTROVERSY: An Edisonian responds to Time's Joel Stein," making a direct avowal of her Edison identity. Moreover, in some instances,

"Guido" stereotypes of New-Jersey of Indians are recognized, acknowledged, and used to further claims to integration. Gautam Jois (Stein #8) writes,

> In his last paragraph, he [Stein] writes (again inartfully) about the assimilation of the current generation of Indian-American kids into American -- and more specifically, *Jersey* -- culture. This is a good thing. Just like people from any other immigrant community, Indians in this country have, to varying degrees, adopted American customs, names, habits, musical tastes, and more. The Indian kids slick back their hair and wear gold chains, a la the cast of Jersey Shore; the kid whose family has been in Edison since the time of, well, Thomas Edison, tries Indian food and sneaks into a Bollywood movie. Stein is correct: that give-and-take *is* "so wonderfully American."

However, it should also be noted that this positioning as integrated and belonging is also approached by some bloggers with some ambivalence. For example, edisongirl (Stein #1) writes,

> But I'll also admit that I was sad when the Dairy Queen was replaced with Indian takeout. I miss that there used to be a regular grocery store in the neighborhood where I grew up... and then one day it was gone. I was devastated when the best pizza shop in Edison was replaced with yet another Indian restaurant. Don't get me wrong - I'm thrilled that our people have populated the place. I'm thrilled that Indian culture has become such an important part of American culture - of Jersey culture! But I'm sad that some of the staples in the town I grew up in have been replaced.

Edisongirl positions herself as struggling with the ways in which the multiple facets of her identity are being reflected in the town. She appreciates the contributions of the South Asian community to the larger community but expresses a desire for a better balance, reflecting a dialectical tension between stability and change involved in the constant (re-)negotiation of the cultural space and bloggers' positionings in relation to it.

Intergroup Representational Positionings

This section is focused on the Stein bloggers' positionings associated with broader public representations of them in relation to other groups. South Asian bloggers' discourses reveal their interpellation into a variety of dominant representations through a

range of responses to them. A number of common stereotypes and generalizations of South Asians can be found throughout the blogs, including negative characterizations of the other and aspects of South Asian culture that reflect its foreignness. Consequently, some bloggers simply dismiss these stereotypical representations in order to disarticulate their identities from them. For example, Radhika Marya (Stein #10) writes, "[T]here are ways to laugh at race and changing demographics without resorting to the Indian doctor stereotype. . ." The most significant representation addressed, challenged, and (re)produced in the blogs is that of the model minority. Bloggers cite the standard tropes of the model minority stereotype, such as being "inherently smart" or "nerds," which pointedly set South Asians apart from less "desirable" minority groups within a racialized hierarchy. Their discourses reveal their interpellation into this positioning. For example, Samhita (Stein #2) recalls her experiences:

> We were constantly compared to the ethnic minorities around us, ignored in the classroom except for the offhand comment about how we were inherently smart and good at school (unless you weren't, then it was in the special class with all the other minorities for you!) and we could never live down being a nerd, unless we assimilated so hardcore that the only thing that was left "authentically Indian" about us was our hair.

Samhita reflects upon her subordinate position to the (implied) white people around her who were in positions of influence that allowed them to compare students, comment about them, and place them. However, the assumptions that school administrators and/or teachers made about South Asian students' intelligence kept the latter separate from and in a superior status to "all the other minorities" placed in remedial classes.

Bloggers often reproduce their positioning as model minority. In previous sections, it was seen that bloggers construct their structural positioning as lower than the status of whites. However, they also assert their economic accomplishments and the

ensuing contradiction of their racist treatment. For example, Prerna Lal (Stein #9) writes,

"Many South Asians hold medical and engineering degrees, or have experience with the

retail and hospitality business. And yet this diverse group of immigrants continues to be

racially profiled and subject to abuse." This argument suggests that as a "good" minority

group, South Asians in fact should not be subject to such racism, implying that

achievement is a valid defense against it.

Interestingly, bloggers' discourses pertaining to the model minority representation

revolve around the community's positioning as unentitled to react and respond to racism.

For example, jagr721 (Stein #1) writes, "Interesting that TIME International isn't running

the column. Is it because as a "model minority" in this country, Indian-Americans won't

raise issue with this but abroad, it wouldn't be received as well?" Similarly, Prerna Lal

(Stein #9) writes,

> Unfortunately, Stein's failed attempt at satire didn't stop with his article. He
> proceeded to tweet about how he was disappointed that email responses to his
> piece didn't resemble Gandhi's non-violent teachings. Yes, because as a model
> minority, South Asians are supposed to turn the other cheek when they're slapped
> with insults like his. As long as we turn the other cheek, wannabe journalists will
> continue to pass off racist diatribes in leading publications as satire.

Both bloggers point out that as the model minority, South Asians are represented as polite

and non-responsive to racist insults, thereby subjecting them to even greater abuse.

When discussing how to react to Stein's article, bloggers' discourses again

reconstruct and embrace the higher status of the model minority. For instance, trotsky23

(Stein #3) writes,

> . . . every brown person getting his pants in a bunch is just a superficial reader
> who is overly eager to to throw his hat into the looked-down-upon minority ring /
> still used to a version of pan-notwhite solidarity that ceases to exist after your
> liberal arts education ends.

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Trotsky23 dismisses the notion of a "pan-notwhite" alliance, reproducing and reinscribing the stratification amongst minority groups. He also specifically distances South Asians from the "looked-down-upon minority" groups, insisting that voicing offense at Stein's article constructs an unnecessary alignment. By doing so, he positions South Asians at a higher status.

Reproduction of model minority status also involves alignment with a standard of "Americanness" or whiteness:

> I guess you have, after all, been good modern Americans and absorbed the victim mentality that is so prevalent in America today. Ha Ha…someone kicks you in the nuts and you go all hysterical ..bringing up stories of Native Americans and what not. What a steaming pile of bullshit.

> You wanna be real Americans? Then, grow tough hides and dont whine. Develop a sense of humour. Free speech can step on your toes. Dont write to TIME magazine in the spirit of "I'll tell my mom on you." (Abhishek, Stein #4)

Abhishek dismisses any and all complaints of minority groups in the United States, including Native Americans who have been the victims of genocide, as a "victim mentality" that "real Americans," the most powerful status group, eschew. Associating with "real Americans," he reproduces and waves the flag of the model minority status due to the promise that it appears to hold.

Other bloggers, however, challenge the way that model minority positioning precludes their offense at racism by asserting their right to voice their displeasure. Sanjay (Stein #6) provides an example of South Asians exercising voice by presenting edits to Stein's Wikipedia entry that have presumably been made by South Asians offended by Stein's article (Figure 2). Sanjay then writes, "So what's the moral of the story? THINK BEFORE YOU WRITE. Asian Americans, as polite and quiet as some may think we are, also have feelings — and we also have a voice." It should also be noted that in actively

challenging the model minority positioning, those who rewrote this Wikipedia entry also

reinscribe the heteronormativity of the discourse that is a prerequisite to a "model"

subject position.

Early life [edit]

Stein grew up in Edison, New Jersey, and attended J. P. Stevens High School, where he wrote for and was an entertainment editor for Hawkeye, the student paper. He majored in Racism at Stanford and wrote a weekly column for The LA Times about how much he hates Indians in Edison. He graduated in 1993 with a BA and an MA and moved to New York, because he felt too undereducated around all of the newly-settled, brilliant Indians. Recently, he has claimed to show an interest in Transvestism and plans on pursusing his interests within the following few months.

Career [edit]

Stein's career began as a writer and researcher for Martha Stewart Living. He worked a year for Stewart and would later quip that she had fired him twice in the same day. He did fact-checking at various publications before becoming sports editor and columnist for Time Out New York, where he

Figure 2. Screenshot from Wikipedia.com entry on Joel Stein

Because the model minority representation disentitles South Asians from acting or

speaking against racism directed at them, bloggers must construct varied subject positions

from which to create discursive space for action. Ironically, they frequently rely on their

positioning as a model minority to create this space. Their higher economic status,

achieved through their professional success, offers them a position from which they can

challenge such discourse. Veer (Stein #4) asserts that such status provides economic

ability to act against *TIME Magazine*: "We all know that it is the squeaky wheel that gets

the grease. Rise up all south asians -not just indians. Boycott Time magazine & it's

sponsors & advertisers." Akshaytel (Stein #3) similarly proclaims such "power" as

explicitly stemming from blue-collar South Asians:

> I think all desis that own newspaper stands or convenience stores should take
> TIME MAGAZINE off their shelves for a period of SIX MONTHS. No threats,
> no bargaining, just flex you muscle. I know if I count all the relatives in my
> extended family there are probably 20 or so so convenience stores across the
> country in my family. The same can be done with TV channels in all the desi
> owned hotel properties. In America nothing speaks louder than pure economic
> power. Hit them where it hurts by cutting in to their revenue.

In addition, bloggers align themselves with other minority groups in order to challenge the model minority stereotype and create such a space from which to speak against Stein's article. The majority of these arguments utilize a comparison to other racial or ethnic groups as a means to highlight specifically why Stein's article is problematic. For example, KXB (Stein #1) writes,

> BTW, I seriously doubt that Time would allow the following to be printed: "For a while, we assumed all Jews were geniuses. Then, in the 1980s, the doctors and engineers decided to help out their merchant cousins, and we were no longer so sure about the genius thing. In the 1990s, the not-as-brilliant merchants gave rise to their even-less-bright cousins to work in high finance, and we started to understand why Wall Street goes through boom and bust cycles with disturbing frequency."

Prerna Lal (Stein #9) also suggests,

> All you have to do is replace the reference to India and Indians with Mexico and Mexicans (or any other ethnicity) to see why the article offends. Imagine a piece written by someone who is not of Mexican descent, which derides his neighborhood for being overrun by "those Mexicans." Can you imagine *TIME* magazine deciding to print it as satire? No, that wouldn't happen. But it happens to South Asians, because we are perceived as a silent "model minority."

Both of these comparisons strategically align South Asians with minority groups generally either positioned lower than them within the United States' racial hierarchy or more accepted as victims of discrimination, precisely to challenge the model minority representation attached to South Asians. By demonstrating the inappropriateness of such writing when targeted at Mexicans, Jews, or other racial/ethnic groups, bloggers position themselves as a minority group equally entitled to demand respectful restraint.

Finally, some bloggers also position themselves as "American" in order to create a space from which to speak. For example, Gautam Jois (Stein #8) writes, "Also 'wonderfully American' is petitioning for redress of one's grievances. So take a minute click this link, and petition Time Magazine to respond to Stein's article." He draws upon

U.S. democratic political processes as a source of voice for South Asian-Americans.

Anna (Stein #1) also asserts.

> What really cooks me here is not Stein's provincialism or even how easy it still is to use Indians as the butt of jokes. It's the Indian-Americans, the ones who keep their heads down, "adjust" and don't make waves, who will tell us not to be so sensitive and to shrug it off. "Let them say what they want. We should not internalize these things and let them bother us. Grow a sense of humor." Because of their being doormats, it is easy for the Steins of the world to give ink to the Wholly Unnecessary. They make it so easy to do so. No more. I'm an American. The residents of Edison have been Americans for longer than Stein's had a column. They don't need this.

She claims her American identity as an argument against staying polite and quiet, something which Stein's article has proven that "Americans" need not do.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the ways in which the Stein bloggers respond to Stein's column in *TIME Magazine* by talking about South Asian immigration to Edison, NJ and the United States as well as issues of racism and humor. I have also analyzed how Stein bloggers constitute a collective subject as Indians, as South Asians, and as a blogging community within and across the blog sites. Finally, I used the diasporic identity framework I presented in Chapter 2 to demonstrate how Stein bloggers construct their identities as subjugated while creating spaces for themselves to claim belonging within the United States. Nonetheless, they also struggle with their model minority positioning, both embracing it and searching for ways to challenge it.

CHAPTER 6: BLOG RESPONSES TO SB 1070

In this chapter, I address the second research question about the construction of the subject positions of the SB 1070 bloggers. I first present the major themes in order to provide a context for understanding the remainder of the analysis. Then, I discuss how bloggers constitute themselves as a collective subject within the discursive space that they construct, including the various subject positions that make up the collective subject.

Themes

Looking across the weblog texts, I identified five major themes around which discussion revolved: (a) SB 1070/bill/law/legislation; (b) ("illegal") immigrants/immigration/Latinos/ Mexicans; (c) racism/racial profiling; (d) America/the United States/Arizona; and (e) police/cops.

"SB 1070," "Bill," "Law," or "Legislation"

The state bill, not surprisingly, is the primary focus of most of the SB 1070 blogs and often the starting point of main posts:

> Yesterday the state of Arizona passed a new law that makes it a misdemeanor to lack proper immigration paper work in the state. This new law also "requires police officers, if they form a 'reasonable suspicion' that someone is an illegal immigrant, to determine the person's immigration status." (Latino Politics Blogger, SB #8)

Many bloggers establish what the bill is about and then proceed to discussing what they perceive as its practical effects on U.S. communities. For example, Somfolnalco (SB #1) writes, "We've already seen U.S. Citizens being detained and even deported in the continuing ICE raids that keep separating families. Yet in Arizona this is on the verge of becoming common practice." Somfolnalco ties SB 1070 to a historical trend of detention and deportation of undocumented immigrants that negatively affect families. Other

bloggers also highlight the potential impact of SB 1070 on U.S. citizens and documented immigrants. For example, Dee (SB #4) writes,

> I got to thinking about the girls basketball team in Illinois. What if one of their players was like my reader's husband. What if she was brought to this country as a child and is now on the basketball team. If she went on the trip, she would be jailed in a detention center for 6 months then deported. The entire team would be arrested/charged a class 3 misdemeanor. If they drove, their vehicle(s) would be confiscated. They would be forced to pay a $1000 fine. Perhaps this draconian law and the personal impacts it would have on each of them is why they are boycotting the state.

Dee emphasizes the fact that the law can have significant negative consequences even for U.S. citizens who do not anticipate them, alluding to the numbers of undocumented immigrants produced by the system and dispersed throughout the nation. Chicano future tense (SB #8) even describes the law as "fascist" due to those possible effects:

> The truly disturbing and terrifying implication of this law is that it has now taken enforcement to a new and dangerous level..I would go so far as to call it fascist. Now,besides targeting and criminalizing undocumented Mexicanos they can legally target and criminalize citizens and green card holders as well. You an american citizen or resident green card holder can now be charged as a criminal if by helping an undocumented Mexicano..giving them a ride..helping them find a job..giving them some work.. things that are moral,noble and compasionate ..things which make us human..

He addresses the ways that the bill potentially affects the "Mexicano" community in the United States, discouraging the compassion amongst them that makes them "human." As members of this community, some bloggers provide their emotional responses to the passing of the bill. Manuél (SB #11) writes, "SB1070 . . . fucked with my very being, my very identity - to put it bluntly." Similarly, Postgraduado (SB #7) writes,

> Before going to work on Friday morning, I heard the news on the radio about what had happened in Arizona. I felt upset and frustrated at the fact that injustices continue happening from all angles of society, and nothing is being done to stop more human abuse from occurring.

Discussion also revolves around the reasonableness of the bill's implied requirement that those who might be reasonably suspected of illegal presence in the United States carry documentation of citizenship or legal presence. For example, Aj (SB #16) suggests that the constraint is not particularly onerous:

> Don't know what the fuss is about. I am Indian and I carry my driver's license with me anywhere I go. What is so hard about that? I used to live in Germany for 2 years, and you could be stopped without any reason and be asked for an ID. If you don't have your State ID (which only citizens got), you had to show your passport. If you didn't have it on you, you were given time to show it. Nobody seemed to complain about that.

Di (SB #6), however, points out that the law fails to take into account the fact that most people simply do not carry such documentation around with them, as a driver's license is neither required nor does it constitute proof of legal presence:

> I've been watching the news and when the interview white people they say they don't mind if they are asked to show "their papers" because they can prove they are citizens. But they do not carry their passport or birth certificate, nobody does. That is how you prove you are a citizen, not just by having a driver's license, illegals have them too. Only permanent residents carry their permanent resident card also known as green card, by the way it is not green. Once you become a citizen you don't have that anymore, you have a certificate, which you are not allowed to copy and should not carry with you; you can get a passport, something you don't normally carry with you to work or to go grocery shopping.

Similarly, Vivek (SB #16), in addressing a personal experience in Arizona, suggests that the requirement itself provides police officers with an "excuse" to arrest people on suspicion of unlawful presence:

> The new Arizona immigration law gives me chills because had it been in effect ten years ago, that police officer might have had the excuse he was looking for. According to the new law, anyone whom a law enforcement officer reasonably suspects is undocumented must provide proof of legal presence in the US. Even though I had a driver license, Maggie did not. And if someone else had been driving I might not have had mine either. Would the officer who was just looking for an excuse have arrested us?

Bloggers also discuss the law in the context of the role of local versus federal law enforcement in immigration. Gregory Tejeda (SB #14) contends that the law will likely be established as unconstitutional because of its infringement on federal immigration policy:

> For the Justice Department is preparing its legal challenge to the new Arizona laws by claiming that these local cops getting involved with federal immigration policy will actually interfere with the ability of the U.S. government to enforce the laws and patrol the borders. So it is possible that the courts could strike down Arizona's misguided immigration effort long before there is any significant population shift.

On the other hand, Somfolnalco (SB #1) argues that the law constitutes further proof of the need for immigration reform at the federal level: "The Unites States cannot have 50 different immigration laws, the San Francisco Chronicle puts it best: If there was any doubt about the need for comprehensive federal immigration reform, Arizona's politicians are putting it to rest."

Interwoven in these conversations about SB 1070 are also negative reflections about the state of Arizona resulting from the passage of the law. For example, Somfolnalco (SB #1) states, "The bill essentially makes Arizona an apartheid state." Jaango (SB #8) similarly addresses his disappointment in the state, noting a shift that has occurred:

> Equally important, I have been, in the past, proud of my home state for attempting to be one America's better locations for the usual as a Laboratory of Democracy. Today, my Arizona is now exercising the behavior that is a premier and iconic Lobotomy for Democracy.

While an occasional comment may suggest that it is nothing "to complain about," overall, SB 1070 bloggers express negative opinions about SB 1070 in terms of its

potential effects on themselves, their communities, as well as other U.S. American

citizens.

"(Illegal) Immigrants/Immigration," "Latinos," or "Mexicans"

In this set of blogs, ("illegal") immigration is usually discussed specifically in

relation to Latinos and/or Mexicans. For example, Lou (SB #10) writes, "I hear so much

rhetoric about what the MEXICAN IMMIGRANT takes from AMERICAN CITIZENS.

They take our jobs! They take our benefits! WAKE UP PEOPLE! Mexican immigration

is down 20% from last year." Desidouche (SB #16) both reproduces and challenges this

connection, asserting, "And just because most illegal immigrants happen to be Mexican is

no reason to stop Mexican looking people—the chance that a randomly stopped Mexican

looking person in the US is illegally here is very miniscule." Gregory Tejeda (SB#14)

comments upon the potential consequences of anti-immigrant measures upon the U.S.

Latino/a population:

> Personally, I want to say it would be short-sighted for Latinos to move in great
> numbers – in large part because by doing so they are giving the most hard-core of
> the proponents of these anti-immigrant laws exactly what they want. A WORLD
> WITHOUT Latinos, which would turn out to be such a deadly dull place out in
> the desert (which is the reason I would never want to live in Arizona – even if
> they were to repeal this nonsense law and the other measures that have been
> enacted in recent weeks).

Immigration, in general, is discussed primarily in terms of its legal aspects and

requirements, such as issues of status and deportation. For example, Gregory Tejeda (SB

#13) writes, "FIFTY-SEVEN PERCENT of Latinos think that either they, or someone

they know, will face deportatino, while 9 percent of Latinos say that they have been

questioned about their immigration status." In this regard, immigrants are presented as

vulnerable and powerless participants in legal immigration processes: "He and his wife

have hired an Immigration lawyer and they are attempting to correct his status. The courts are so backlogged, they have been in limbo for some time now" (Dee, SB #4). Therefore, the topic of immigration also entails a discussion of its legal hurdles and complexities:

> The problem with this whole thing is, immigration law is extremely complex, and police men cant be expected to be aware of the intricacies. What if you show him your passport/Visa, but the Visa stamp has expired – but you have a pending I485 (Adjustment of Status) application with the USCIS? You are in legal status as long as USCIS doesnt respond, but will the AZ cops know/understand this? There are many many other cases like these, which you would know of only if you are an immigrant or an immigration lawyer. (Sudeep, SB #16)

Beyond its legal technicalities, however, this theme also focuses on the ongoing immigration debate in the United States. Gregory Tejeda (SB #15) writes, "Ever since Arizona's state Legislature threw a lit match into the cannister of gasoline that is the immigration reform debate, we have endured heated rhetoric in our society." Both in relation to the bill as well as in general, the topic of "illegal" immigration is discussed and debated in the blogs. Bloggers frequently discuss the various positions in this debate, such as their opinions about undocumented immigration. Prerna Lal (SB #2) incorporates Figure 3 in her blog post, which ridicules the idea that "illegal aliens" are fearsome creatures crossing the desert into the United States in hordes.

Figure 3. Yes, those big bad "illegal alien" skeletons. (Credit: Frankie Moreno)

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Similarly, desidouche (SB #16) suggests that SB 1070's ostensible targeting of

undocumented immigrants is about neither the depletion of government resources nor

their inherent criminality:

> Since there is little urgency in enforcing the tax issue (wages are usually paid by
> people who are here, not some shadows you dont see)—which would be a lot
> easier than rounding up and deporting illegals—I infer that the real intent of this
> law is not about illegals bleeding the government resources. And just because
> every apologist exploits the tragic death of the rancher to make their case, the case
> hardly proves that criminals are more prevalent among illegal immigrants.

On the other hand, Sudeep (SB #16) opines that "illegal immigrants" are in fact

problematic enough to the system to warrant the "harassment" of SB 1070:

> No doubt that this is being used to harass illegal mexicans out of the country. As
> is well known I dont have any sympathy for queue jumpers. I would be one of
> those who is likely to be harassed but it is price I am happy to pay. Probably
> worth it as every illegal immigrant devalues a legal one.

Consequently, bloggers engage with each other in a conversation about the nature

of undocumented immigration in the United States. Given the approach to immigration as

an unsettled question, many bloggers propose and discuss potential strategies for

resolving the U.S. immigration debate. For example, Sameer (SB #16) proposes that

instead of targeting undocumented immigrants directly, "They should instead enforce the

laws against people and businesses who hire illegal immigrants no matter what ethnicity.

The ones who hire are breaking the law. They are the demand, the illegal Mexicans are

the supply meeting the demand." On the other hand, Gregory Tejeda (SB #15) suggests,

"[S]uch reforms need to include measures by which people already here should be

allowed some procedural means of remaining in the United States."

"Racism" or "Racial Profiling"

Racism is also an important topic in the SB 1070 blogs. Bloggers often address

how SB 1070 would be applied differentially based on race. Several bloggers express the

opinion that SB 1070 would not be enforced against white people:

> This new law says that police can stop anybody and ask them to prove that they
> are here legally if the have the 'suspicion' that they are here illegally. What would
> make you suspicious that somebody is here illegally by just looking at them? Do
> you think they are going to stop a white, all-american looking man or woman?
> really? (Di, SB #5)

Manuél (SB 1070) makes a similar claim, stating, "Let's stop pretending that SB1070 will

be enforced the same for a white snowbird in Scottsdale who decided not to the leave the

state during the summer versus a Xicano family that's celebrating a child's birthday."

Bloggers then also point out the fallibility of this logic, that race is not in fact indicative

of legal status in the United States:

> The biggest issue that most people (myself included) is what constitutes
> reasonable suspicion. If it's the colour of your skin, as Vivek pointed out, it is a
> big problem – as the guy with the dark skin could just as easily be a US
> citizen/resident as the guy with white skin could have been a tourist that
> overstayed his visa. It is just like airport security in the US post-9/11 – all those
> "random" searches in the name of security were not so random, after all. (ak, SB
> #16)

Consequently, a common theme across the blogs is the notion that SB 1070 is a vehicle

for racial profiling. Dee (SB #5) uses the phrase "racial profiling" as a blanket descriptor

of the bill: "There are those, like White Supremist supported state senator Russell Pearce,

the man who intiated this racial profiling bill, who want to use arpaio's tactics as a role

model." In contrast, Di (SB #6) suggests only the possibility that the bill would result in

racial profiling: "The new law in Arizona it is not well written. I don't have a problem

with police upholding the laws, but this one is vague and creates the opportunity for abuse and racial profiling."

Consequently, Irma (SB #8) frames SB 1070 as a civil rights issue: "You dont seem to understand that the issue we are discussing here is the protection of American civil rights. The Arizona bill in question, would violate your civil rights and those of other fellow Americans." It bears mentioning that, by tying the discussion of racial profiling to the "civil rights . . . of other fellow Americans," the consequences of the bill and the racism that it entails is again linked to not just to the Latino/a community but to all U.S. Americans, just as it was in the first theme presented above in which bloggers directly addressed the impact of the bill.

"America," "The United States," or "Arizona"

Bloggers often discuss the nature of the United States as a political entity. As such, Jaango (SB #8) talks about the state of U.S. politics, proclaiming, "America has fallen on hard times due to corruption, mismanagement and general all-around incompetence performed by the political Right." Specifically, the immigration issue in the United States is frequently framed in terms of political factions:

> This issue is coming down along political partisan lines. Most Democrats are inclined to think Arizona screwed up, while most Republicans want to believe that Arizona did good last week when Gov. Jan Brewer signed into law the measure that requires local police to take stronger actions to enforce federal immigration laws. (Gregory Tejeda, SB #13)

Dee (SB #4) also historicizes immigration in the United States, asserting, "[T]he US did not enforce immigration laws south of the border and employers readily hired workers until 2006/2007, after the May 2006 marches when the ANTI CIR advocates became emboldened and pushed their restrictionist agenda." Such historicizations as this one are

not necessarily based in factual accuracy, but they suggest a particular perspective for examining immigration politics.

Bloggers also specifically talk about the people within the United States in relation to its people. El Random Hero (SB #3) speaks positively about the United States but negatively of what the people within it, as a majority, have opted to do:

> 63 years later and despite all the growth and change the U.S. has made, there are still parts of this beautiful country and people who choose to have a narrow, I'm right, you're wrong, point of view. Segregation never solved any problems, it only makes things worse.

Manuél specifically references "brown" immigrants while indirectly referencing the nonimmigrant population comprising the U.S. polity:

> For several years I've been told that I should keep my mouth shut and accept that I'll be profiled since so many brown people migrate to the U.S. to ~~steal jobs~~ provide for their families. "Sacrifice for the greater good", I'm told. Well, I have come to a place where I can agree to do that.

Arizona is also discussed in a similar pattern as the United States, focusing on it, in large part, as a political structure, a smaller part of the United States: "My own belief about the Arizona political actions is based largely on the fact that I fully comprehend how offended local government types everywhere get when they think the federal government is meddling in their local affairs" (Gregory Tejeda, SB #13). As a political entity, Arizona's government structure is akin, albeit subordinate, to that of the United States. Moreover, it is talked about in terms of its people and its culture:

> According to the state's official tourism visitor guide, Arizona is a Land of Wonder; a place where you can plan a "Grand" vacation filled with fun activities including hiking, biking, rafting and even mule-riding. What I find most fascinating, though, is the fact that the guide highlights the state's proximity to Mexico, and actually encourages tourists to visit Mexico: *"Mexico boasts cultural festivals, heritage areas, colonial towns, pre-Colombian history such as Mayan and Aztec ruins, and much more. [...] Tourists can take advantage of the great beaches, archeological zones, music, art, food, and cultural experiences."* Ah….

so now I finally get it! What this whole thing means is: If you want to see Mexicans, or anything related to Mexico's culture or heritage, you'll be better off taking a car and cross the border; chances are you will not see any of that around here anymore. (Laura Martinez, SB #12)

Much of what the bloggers write about Arizona, however, describes the state in highly negative terms. Dee (SB #5), for example, writes, "ARIZONA HAS ALWAYS BEEN A RACIST STATE" as she discusses its history regarding Martin Luther King Day. Similarly, Jaango (SB #11) laments, "I can only imagine how tough it must be in Arizona right now. So much hatred is spilling out all over the country and Arizona is at the heart of it. These are very frightening times." Somfolnalco (SB #1) also writes, "Yet, this is the heart of Arpaio Territory we're talking about, and it's seething with anti immigrant sentiment." Gregory Tejeda (SB #14) states, "That is a sad comment about Arizona – even though I realize there are some people who are closed-minded enough to not appreciate how embarrassed they should be for the things they are saying and doing." As such, bloggers as a whole describe the state in highly negative terms, as "racist," filled with "hatred" and "anti immigrant sentiment," and its people as "closed-minded."

Finally, bloggers also incorporate discussions about rights and freedom when they talk about the United States. For example, Pagal_Admin_for_d (SB #16) writes, "There is a pesky little document called the Constitution which has silly things like the Fourteenth Amendment," calling upon legal rights conferred upon people within the United States. Lou (SB #10) calls upon such rights in a more abstract sense, writing about his grandparents:

> They came to this country for freedom. For the opportunity to work hard, raise a family and have security. I am so fortunate to be a piece of this immigrant legacy and part of this vast family. We are part of something bigger than ourselves and hope that the same opportunity afforded to our family will continue to be afforded to others. BROWN OR OTHERWISE! (Lou, SB #10)

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Throughout this theme, then, is a sense of ambivalence about the nation overall. Bloggers are frustrated with its overall anti-immigrant direction. However, they tend to speak about it as temporary and therefore do not denigrate the nation altogether, using words such as "immigrant legacy" and "beautiful" to describe it.

"Police" or "Cops"

Given that the blogs address SB 1070, it is not surprising that bloggers also frequently talk about the role of "police" or "cops" with regard to immigration. For example, Gregory Tejeda (SB #15) writes,

> BUT UNDER THE Arizona measure, police handling that local accident would be required to question people about their immigration status – if they fit that officer's understanding of what constitutes a person likely to be in this country without papers. Which means the local cops themselves largely see this issue as one causing potential for headaches – not only would some people be scared away from wanting to cooperate with (or get too close to) police, it also creates situations where an officer's over-diligence could come back to bite his department.

Bloggers therefore address the functions and responsibilities of police officers in enforcing SB 1070. Moreover, they speak to their general perceptions of police officers as well:

> On my way to work, my friend calls me and asks me for help finding legal advice. As it turns out, he may be in trouble with immigration himself over some mishandled police investigation. Damn, one more thing on my mind and even more frustration with everything that has been happening. (Postgraduado, SB #7)

In this case, Postgraduado expresses a general lack of trust of law enforcement as an institution, which is a theme reflected in the comments of many other bloggers.

Constituting Subject Positions

In this section, I explore ways in which SB 1070 bloggers constitute themselves as a collective subject. In other words, what are the specific discursive strategies that they

utilize in order to form a community of subjects interpellated by SB 1070? I then analyze

the complex of identifications that produce the collective subject, as they are constructed

in relation to structures, trans-spatial/historical locations, and intergroup representations.

Constituting a Collective Subject

SB 1070 bloggers construct an ontological status consisting of a sense of

community first by using language in ways that create a sense of identification between

undocumented immigrants and a broader Latino/a immigrant community. Spanish and

Spanglish are interspersed throughout the texts. For example, Prerna Lal (see Figure 4)

includes a picture of protesters holding a sign that says, "AMNISTIA INCONDICIONAL

PARA TODOS ¡AHORA!" that employs Spanish to make a plea for unconditional

amnesty for undocumented immigrants in the United States.

Figure 4. Demonstration against the Arizona Diamondbacks and SB1070 in Arizona in front of the Giants Stadium in downtown San Francisco on May 29 2010. (jonathan mcintosh) (SB #2)

Lou (SB #10) uses the phrase "my communidad" to signify a community of mutual

understanding. Manuél (SB #11) uses the Spanish word "gente" for "people" in a similar

sense:

> The salt in the wound is watching poll after poll show sizeable majorities of the populace agree that brown-skinned gente should bend over and take the violation

of our civil and human rights with a smile on our faces. We should "do our part" by accepting racial profiling, the oppression of our culture, and the militarization of our ancestral homeland all in the name of a false sense of security.

Manuél's use of the words "we" and "our" also stand out as relational moves indicating collectivity amongst the bloggers. Moreover, it is notable that the labels "Latino," "Mexican," and "Chicano" are frequently used amongst the Latino/a bloggers; however, the term "Hispanic," a U.S. political label, is almost exclusively used in these texts by non-Latino/a bloggers unless used in relation to political institutions. Therefore, these words and phrases contribute to a sense of identification amongst the bloggers.

However, the collective subject is not confined only to undocumented and/or Latino/a subjects. This complexity is apparent when considering how certain participants from the South Asian blog, Sepia Mutiny, position themselves as part of the collective subject affected and interpellated by SB 1070:

And although the law states explicitly that no official may "consider race, color, or national origin" when they implement the policy, is that how it's really going to go down every time, given that in this case the two brown kids got pulled out of the car but the white kid didn't? (Vivek, SB #16)

Sepia Mutiny bloggers become an interesting component of the collective subject, expanding it from "Latino/a" to an identification of racially "brown." This move constructs a subject position through which bloggers are interpellated as both members of immigrant communities and as racially "brown." Manuél (SB #11) uses the same racial signifier above when referring to "brown-skinned gente," as does Somfolnalco (SB #1), an undocumented blogger: "The bill essentially makes Arizona an apartheid state, where it will be ok for police to ask a brown 'illegal' looking man or woman for their papers." This further bolsters the "brown" racial identification of the community, albeit more tentative than the cultural identification of Latino/as.

Multiple levels of interpellation within the blogging community also function to broaden the scope of the collective and create this ontological status. For example, Dee (SB #4) incorporates the story of one of her readers, who is a U.S. citizen married to an undocumented immigrant brought to the United States as a child. Although they have hired an immigration attorney to resolve the situation, his immigration status remains in limbo. Dee explains:

> Her parents live in Arizona and are having a family reunion over Thanksgiving. They want to go but realize if sb1070 is enacted, they will all be in jeopardy. If stopped, they both would be arrested. He would go to a detention center for six months then deported to El Salvador. He barely speaks Spanish and doesn't even remember the country. She would have her car confiscated and be charged with a Class 3 misdemeanor and forced to pay a $1000 fine. If they made it to her parents house, they too would be charged a $1000 fine and charged for harboring.

The subject's (i.e., the reader) race or ethnicity is irrelevant to her interpellation by SB 1070. This example exhibits multiple moments of interpellation, as audience members, already interpellated by SB 1070, get re-interpellated by the blog texts and then again through the inclusion of their stories, reinforcing the community and validating the arguments within the text.

In another example, Prerna Lal (SB #2) is an undocumented immigrant whose family immigrated to the United States from Fiji and is part of the South Asian diaspora. Her blog post consists of a series of pictures from the 2010 National Day of Action (see, for example, Figure 5).

Figure 5. Prerna Lal (SB #2)

Her pictures demonstrate the strength of her larger argument against SB 1070 by

depicting large numbers of people involved whose racial and ethnic identities are

indistinguishable. Another picture (Figure 6) from her blog includes white protesters:

Figure 6. We need more cool white people. (Frankie Moreno) (SB #2)

In this picture, the collective subject is being constituted through a convergence of

factors. First, Prerna Lal interpellates the white protesters as subjects within the blogging

community by using this picture to construct her text. Second, white protesters are

interpellating themselves as allies through their presence at the rally and the inclusion of

Spanish text in their sign. Finally, they are interpellated through their identification as

immigrants through their ancestry—"European descendents." Hence, the protesters'

multiple levels of interpellation bring them into the fold of this online imagined

community.

These moves to constitute a collective self contrast with moves distinguishing that

self from an other. El Random Hero (SB #3) writes,

> People are angry and full of rage for problems happening to them and those
> around them. It's not their fault because they're hard working Americans who pay
> taxes and follow the laws, grill hot dogs on fourth of July and eat apple pie right ?

His use of "they" is indicative of dominant white Americans who, because of "their"

status as "Americans," are "entitled" to be angry about the situation, distinct from people

like himself. Manuél (SB #9) writes, "Watching the debate unfold across this country, the

reaction I've had most commonly is: 'Wow. How very white of you,'" implying a distinct

perspective amongst mainstream white Americans from those within the blogging

community. The white mainstream perspective is then also criticized for its hypocrisy:

> I find it very ironic and unsettling at the same time how republicans claim the
> victory for the fall of the Berlin Wall, yet under republican "leadership", a wall of
> similar proportions was initiated by them in our own back yard. Maybe not ironic,
> more so, hypocritical. (Jesus (Hay-soos), SB #8)

The Other that SB 1070 bloggers construct also includes institutional personae

who are positioned as outside the collective self. Gregory Tejeda (SB #15), for example,

writes, "[S]tate officials in Florida are moving ahead with their own version of an

Arizona-type measure that requires their local cops to more vigorously enforce federal

immigration laws." The word "their" differentiates state officials and local cops from the

people affected by "their" actions. Moreover, "they" are presented as a negative other.

Postgraduado (SB #7) discusses a girl whom he observed attacked on the streets: "I called

the police and waited along side that poor girl crying. Details were taken and promises

were made, but in the end they seemed more concerned in finding out what the victim had done to deserve it." Again, "they" refers to the police, whom he associates with a source of frustration rather than support.

These discursive moves construct the Other as such precisely because "they" are an opponent in the struggle against SB 1070. However, it must be noted that this distinction between the self and other is not absolute. For example, Gregory Tejeda (SB #13) writes,

> IT MAKES ME wonder if Latinos have a better understanding than the population at-large of the divisions between our differing types of government and the importance of maintaining those divisions, and if part of the solution to our nation's problems is to have more Latinos in positions of authority. We certainly couldn't do any worse than the political knuckleheads currently in charge.

"We" constructs a positive representation of the Latino/a population as a more capable community, while the word "our" also identifies with the larger US population. This construction is also seen by Dee (SB #5): "We the People implore you, President Obama. Speak for Truth, Justice and the American Way." Consequently, the collective self that is constructed here indicates not just a Latino/a community but a U.S. immigrant community that better espouses "American" values and ideals than those who claim greater authenticity to the identification of "American."

Consequently, SB 1070 bloggers are called into being as a collective subject through a combination of racial and ethnic identifications as well as multiple levels of interpellation by the blog community and SB 1070. In the next section, I look at how they construct and (re)produce their specific subject positions in relation to institutional structures, trans-spatial/historical locations, and intergroup representations, which provides greater insight into how their collective subjectivity is called into being. This

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analysis entails understanding the combination of ways in which the bloggers describe their positions as already determined, challenge some of these positions in their blogs, as well as (re)produce those positionings through their discourse.

Structural Positionings

This section is focused on the positionings of the bloggers in relation to extant institutional structures. Therefore, I examine SB 1070 bloggers' discursive constructions of the nation-state, political/legal institutional structures, and economic class— the three structures proposed by Drzwiecka and Halualani (2002)—and their subject positionings relative to those structures.

The nation-state and racialized immigrants.

Bloggers' discourses frequently construct the United States as a white national structure with the power to "otherize" minority racial groups. Many bloggers clearly indicate a level of power and status held by the nation. As Di (SB #6) writes,

> I have met people that told me that they came legally but overstayed, meaning they were now illegals, from Russia, Romania, Belgium, I don't know what happened to them, if they went back or not, but the where all white, most of the blond, they would never get stopped on "suspicion" of being illegal.

In this statement, "suspicion" arises from a white power structure entitled to evaluate the suitability of the other. Di suggests that because these undocumented immigrants from Europe are white, they are able to blend in with or merge with the existent structure in a way that immigrants of color cannot. Her argument is echoed by Chicano future tense (SB #8), who states,

> No doubt this type of legislation will give a green light to racists of all stripes (like skunks). Racial profiling will become acceptable SOP in Arizona. In their mindset if you are non-white you could be an "illegal alien" as they like to say.

Chicano future tense constructs the racial other as always subject to the nation's suspicion of being an "illegal alien."

This subject position is further bolstered by such words as "crackdown," "hassle," and "abuse," and "White Supremacy" that reflect how the power structure exercises its authority in favor of racially similar immigrants and in suspicion of racially different immigrants. They describe the law as "xenophobic and "draconian." Bloggers specifically map out a discourse that highlights the relationship between SB 1070 and race, referring to it as a "cover" or "proxy" for targeting the "brown menace," as they demonstrate how the law, as a political structure, bears significations that position the bloggers. As Somfolnalco (SB #1) states, "I won't even delve into how a person goes about looking 'illegal' . . . but SB 1070 opens the gateway to legalized racial profiling." Because the law suggests the possibility of an outward embodiment of "illegality," bloggers point out that it targets "brown" people according to their race and therefore also positions them as outside the nation-state, with immigration "law" as merely a convenient shield for such racism and xenophobia.

Vivek (SB #16) relates this positioning to his own personal experience when he and another friend of color were asked for identification in Arizona while a white friend was permitted to remain in the car: "Do cosmopolitan American Brownz think that they won't be 'lawfully stopped' by 'reasonably suspicious' police officers? Because it happened to Maggie and me, immigrant kids from Mexico and Madras." The white friend was assumed to be a part of the structure, while the dominant presumption was that Vivek and his friend were not. As Manuél (SB #9) states, "Our skin color, our accents, our language are all suspect to an oppressive federal system that SB1070 expands unjustly."

Along these same lines, bloggers indicate the inchoateness that they construct around their citizenship, indicative of their subjective experiences of alien citizenship (Ngai, 2004). There is a distinction drawn, primarily based in race, between those who are "real" citizens (i.e., white) and those whose citizenship is always in question (i.e., non-white). As Mexican-American Citizen (SB #8) writes,

> What has me the most concerned is my rights as a Mexican – American... Since this bill has been signed, I feel when I walk about of my house, all eyes are now on me. I feel as though people now have some small right to question my citizenship.

DevP (SB #16) refers to this positioning as that of a "second-class citizen:"

> The fact is that if I'm driving with White Friend Paul over the AZ border, one of us needs to make sure his papers are in order to avoid police harassment, while the other one of us is fine. I don't think being treated like a second-class citizen is acceptable.

Consequently, many bloggers experience their positioning as, once again, not squarely within the boundaries of this white national structure. Some emphasize their positioning as an external intrusion upon the sanctity of the nation-state. El Random Hero (SB #3) writes,

> People are angry and full of rage for problems happening to them and those around them. It's not their fault because they're hard working Americans who pay taxes and follow the laws, grill hot dogs on fourth of July and eat apple pie right ? So the problem must rest with those who don't "belong here" right ?

The blame placed upon immigrants (of color) is connected here to their "outsider" status in relation to the nation, which becomes insurmountable due to the characteristics outlined by Manuél (SB #16), including "our skin color, our accents, our language." This subject position reflects the notion of racial unassimilability, as Darth Paul (SB #16) writes, "Despite anything the sycophants and apologists may babble, AZ has a serious problem with nonwhite folk. Desis are not immune or capable of whiting out into the

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background." In the context of immigration legislation, bloggers' discourses reveal a positioning on the edges of the national structure. Racially unassimilable, even a position of legal citizenship is never secure, always subject to abjection from the white national structure through suspicion and blame.

Bloggers challenge their abjection and underscore their humanity by highlighting their emotional states. Manuél (SB #11) writes, "Scanning headlines and reading commentary used to be soothing, but with such potent hate gathering around those of us targeted in Arizona, I find it depressing and paralyzing." Postgraduado (SB #7) begins his blog,

> Before going to work on Friday morning, I heard the news on the radio about what had happened in Arizona. I felt upset and frustrated at the fact that injustices continue happening from all angles of society, and nothing is being done to stop more human abuse from occurring.

Such emotion words reconnect immigrants with a sense of humanity that challenges the dehumanization and objectification undertaken by immigration laws that construct them.

Legal/political institutions and racialized immigrants.

SB 1070 bloggers also construct their identities in relation to the legal/political structures that bolster the state. They construct the state as largely a system of political, judicial, and legal bodies. Gregory Tejeda (SB #13) exemplifies this construction when he writes,

> Big surprise here. This issue is coming down along political partisan lines. Most Democrats are inclined to think Arizona screwed up, while most Republicans want to believe that Arizona did good last week when Gov. Jan Brewer signed into law the measure that requires local police to take stronger actions to enforce federal immigration laws. . . . Which is why many Latinos are going to take up this issue – regardless of whether or not we or our families have already attained U.S. citizenship.

He indicates that the legislative decisions are being made by Democratic and Republican political parties at federal and state levels to be enforced by local police. Meanwhile, "Latinos" are not a part of these political structures that are nonetheless entitled and empowered to determine their status and treatment.

Bloggers also link immigration to the state as a set of policies, rules, and enforcement. Dee (SB #5), while addressing U.S. President Barack Obama, writes,

> While we attempt to look for a bright side by hoping this negative bill will be a trigger to initiate Comprehensive Immigration Reform so you can put in place measures to truly fix our current broken immigration policies, I believe there is something else you can do.

She characterizes immigration as "broken . . . policies" that need fixing through further legislation, namely Comprehensive Immigration Reform and calls upon Obama for action. Ricardo (SB #8) ties immigration to political (in)action in the context of the two major U.S. political parties:

> The saddest thing about the Anti-Latino (forget "Illegal Immigrant") stance of the redneck Republicans is that they are just further empowering the Democratic Party. The democrats do nothing but will still come out winners. Just look at California after Pete Wilson. (Ricardo, SB #8)

Both of these bloggers, while focusing on the legislative and authoritative nature of immigration, also place it squarely within the purview of the political state and its actors, an institution from which they see themselves as separate and distinct. DevP (SB #16) writes that the law, debated and enforced by political figures in support of economic interests, fails to take into account the interests of the everyday, non-political citizen:

> … neither conservatives nor liberals (for the most part) are able to be real about reconciling their love of cheap goods with their various anti-immigrant concerns (omg min wage / omg brown ppl). Still, the current problem with the rise in nativism seems to be with parts of the Republican base (which I think Manju is referring to as the "savages"?), and those Republican politicians who choose to profit from their fringes.

Ultimately: this law does fuck all for actually improving border security but promises to be a grand success in terms of citizen harassment per capita.

Consequently, bloggers construct their subject positions as being determined through their legal status as defined by the state, which they perceive as a white structure. Their discourses reveal a subject position in relation to political and legal structures that are entitled to make decisions about them and their identities. In other words, bloggers define themselves as objects of the politicized immigration debate but not as subjects who have a voice in them.

Furthermore, this relationship becomes even more defined as one of direct subjugation and subordination at a multitude of levels. Specifically, bloggers' discourses reveal a relationship linking laws and law enforcement with racism, whereby the first two create, justify, and support the last. This relationship is exemplified in Somfolnalco's (SB #1) statement, "The bill essentially makes Arizona an apartheid state, where it will be ok for police to ask a brown 'illegal' looking man or woman for their papers." They also focus on the negative and dehumanizing consequences of legal immigration structures, constructing a negative relationship between bloggers and the state wherein the state's discretion and power contribute to the racial subjugation of the immigrants:

> And let's look at arpaio's detention center/tent city. He has lost $40M in lost civil suits due to wrongful deaths/abuses in his jails. He dresses them in pink underwear, houses them in tents, and has them eat green bologna. He charges the state $100 a day for each detainee, that is why he jails them for 6 months before deporting them. Arpaio just reported that his jail/tent city is infested with chicken pox. He doesn't blame himself for the deplorable, disease/vermin infested unsanitary conditions in his facility. He blames those that are sick for their illnesses, even though they have very poor medical assistance in his deplorable jails. (Dee, SB #4)

Dee, albeit relying on a number of factually inaccurate or unsubstantiated claims about the detention of immigrants within Arpaio's jurisdiction, describes the abuses of such

detention in a manner that signals resignation to the power of the state; Arpaio is

empowered to construct the "detention center/tent city" and run it as he pleases with no

accountability to the people whom he subjects to its conditions. Important here is the

interrelatedness of the national structure and the ways in which the legal and political

institutions that form it are described to operate. If the national structure is defined

according to racialized notions of citizenship, then the legal and political structures must

necessarily support and reinforce such constructions through the enactment and

enforcement of corresponding immigration policies.

It should, however, also be noted that the bloggers' discourses reveal a range of

views about law enforcement beyond legally sanctioned harassment. For example, some

bloggers indicate a general sense of respect for police officers in the execution of their

duties. Vivek (SB #16), expanding on his earlier story about being pulled over, writes,

> I don't believe that every law enforcement officer is a bad apple; in fact, during
> every other interaction I've had with a member of the Tucson Police Department I
> felt I was treated professionally if not courteously. But this incident sticks with
> me because the officer's behavior seemed so predatory. When there are such
> officers who do this, how can we know that the training that goes into
> implementing this law across the state will adequately address issues like racial
> profiling? How can we know that every officer will recognize a driver's license as
> a valid form of ID without pushing to see another form of ID?

He indicates that, at least in his experience, most police officers enforce their

responsibilities responsibly and dutifully. However, he also communicates ambivalence

about entrusting all police officers to do so, which is common across many of the blogs

and posts. Bloggers address the cognition and subjectivity that law enforcement utilizes

in that execution, leading to the unpredictability of their actions. Bloggers in this context

discuss the dangers of over-empowering police officers through such provisions as SB

1070 wherein they may misuse their discretion or are unaware how to use it. For

example, Gregory Tejeda (SB #15) writes,

> BUT UNDER THE Arizona measure, police handling that local accident would
> be required to question people about their immigration status – if they fit that
> officer's understanding of what constitutes a person likely to be in this country
> without papers.

> Which means the local cops themselves largely see this issue as one causing
> potential for headaches – not only would some people be scared away from
> wanting to cooperate with (or get too close to) police, it also creates situations
> where an officer's over-diligence could come back to bite his department.

Although these perceptions are generally more positive than those discussed earlier, a

subordinate positioning is still revealed in the bloggers' discourses wherein they are

subjected to the ways in which police officers use their authority.

Immigration and economic structures.

Bloggers' discourses also construct their subject positions in relation to economic

structures. Bloggers construct a hierarchical economic structure amongst nations at an

international level, while they also allude to a hierarchical labor structure in the United

States that implies professional employment at the top and explicitly places manual labor

at the bottom. Both of these constructions then work together to discursively construct a

chain of exploitation. Unfair trade policies, particularly NAFTA, exploit their home

countries, positioning them in a low status within an international hierarchy, thereby

creating or at least contributing to the current immigration scenario. When they relocate

to the United States, immigrants are positioned as restricted to low-end, manual labor.

The construction of this structure is exemplified in the following comment by El Random

Hero (SB #3):

> Those who immigrated illegally to the country that through NAFTA, made it
> impossible for them to make a living in their home country. To work in factories

that exploit them and their families as they die trying to get across the border only to continue to be exploited in the U.S. as well by people who use laws to scare them and keep them in check, abusing them because they know they won't speak up out of fear.

At the same time, bloggers frequently address the inherent contradiction of this system insofar as the economic needs of U.S. business are driving it. For example, evelynlexo (SB #4) writes,

> Millions of people come to this country because corporate America is addicted to cheap labor. We have seen a lot of jobs shipped overseas to satisfy corporate America's addiction to cheap labor. It is a drug that our corporate backbone cannot live without — or can it?

This contradiction, then, reinforces the value of Latino/a immigrants as an integral part of this economic structure:

> I hear so much rhetoric about what the MEXICAN IMMIGRANT takes from AMERICAN CITIZENS. They take our jobs! They take our benefits! WAKE UP PEOPLE! Mexican immigration is down 20% from last year. TAKE THAT LOW WAGE, BACK BREAKING JOB! It's yours!!!! WAKE UP PEOPLE!!!! Mexican Immigrants pay state, local and federal taxes. Yes, even though they're buying their bread at a PANERIA and their meat at a CARNECERIA THEY'RE PAYING TAXES!!!!! (Lou, SB #10)

The positioning in relation to the economic class structures indicates once more a subject position that entails domination and subjugation by a system created by a more powerful body. Bloggers highlight the irony in that they, as immigrants, work within and contribute to the system while they are not only constructed and exploited by it but positioned outside of it. Furthermore they have not been given the opportunity to contribute to these constructions.

Trans-Spatial/Historical Positionings

This section is focused on how SB 1070 bloggers construct their subject positions in relation to trans-spatial/historical locations in order to negotiate belongingness. I again

rely upon the distinction between place and space to demonstrate how bloggers position themselves in relation to a space that is not fixed or stable. I examine how SB 1070 bloggers' construct their identities as U.S. Americans in relation to constructions of "America" as ancestral lands in order to claim belongingness. In addition, I explore how they assert their cultural citizenship as constructive of the contemporary space of the United States.

Many bloggers reveal a strong sense of positive identification with past and future generations of members of the Latino/a immigrant community. As Chicano future tense (SB #14) writes, "Mexicanos are a tough and proud people.It would take a lot more than some chickens..t arizona law to force them to move out." However, SB 1070 bloggers also construct claims to belongingness through a trans-spatial/historical connection to the United States culture and community. Similar to South Asian bloggers' constructions, SB 1070 bloggers assert their belongingness to the nation by indicating that they have historically played a substantial role in the economic and cultural community of the United States, making them an integral part of it. Gregory Tejeda (SB #14) writes,

> A WORLD WITHOUT Latinos, which would turn out to be such a deadly dull place out in the desert. . . . I can't help but get back to the comparison to Miami, where the development of a significant Latino population is what turned that city from a sleepy southern beach town to one of the nation's most significant cities. It was that international character that elevated the place.

He describes the value of the Latino/a immigrant community in terms of its cultural contributions, suggesting the dullness of a solely white community.

Lou (SB #10) writes about his own family:

Let me tell you a story about some MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS! My Tata Nacho and Nana Angelita immigrated to this country 92 years ago. Their legacy is profound. Contrary to popular belief these "Mexican Immigrants" were not terrorists, drug dealers or associated with crime. Instead they... worked hard,

valued god and family, and passed those values on to all of us. Their children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, great great grandchildren have fought and died for this country. None have ever gone to prison. We are all productive members of society, public servants, teachers, policemen, firemen, professors, successful business people, the list goes on.

He constructs the United States as a space of morality and (hetero)normativity and then emphasizes his family's normality, productivity, and overall moral goodness throughout history to indicate their belongingness with U.S. culture.

Bloggers' discourses also reveal explicit claims to an American identity, drawing upon a notion of historical continuity. For example, Gregory Tejeda (SB #14) writes, "Now I could go off on a diatribe about how those Cubanos are 'Americans' as well – as are everybody from the western tip of Alaska to the southern tips of Chile and Argentina." Consequently, bloggers position themselves in relation to a transhistorical construction, making claim to the land as their ancestral homeland. Lou (SB #10) laments,

How disappointed I am that the place I call home, that my parents, grandparents and great-grandparents called home is under attack. Infiltrated by outsiders who have NO idea of the dynamic border history of my homeland are destroying my communidad. Outsiders who elect corrupt, racist politicians to craft racists laws instead of working to improve our education system that is broken and takes away needed resources from the poor.

By referencing the "dynamic border history," Lou questions the stability and validity of the nation-state's boundaries, asserting a cultural right to the land that supersedes the political rights asserted through the election of "corrupt, racist, politicians" who craft such legislation as SB 1070. Similarly, Manuél (SB #11) writes,

Each time I consider leaving [Arizona], the image of my great, great, great, great Grandmother's grave that rests near the base of the mountain that overlooks my hometown returns to my mind. My family preceeds the movement of the border - both times - and the indigenous spirit within me flares up and reminds me that I have every right to be here and demand respect.

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This statement exemplifies bloggers' claims to belongingness, wherein Latino/as position themselves as those historically entitled to be present in the United States. The land itself remains a part of the heritage of Latino/a-Americans.

Another aspect of belongingness revolves around claims of cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, 1997). Many bloggers focus on community mobilization and activism, acutely demonstrated by Prerna Lal's (SB #2) entire post, which is titled and photographically documents "SB 1070 National Day of Action." Manuél (SB #9), referencing claims that he should submit to racial profiling for the larger U.S. interests, ironically frames his activism in terms of the "sacrifice" he is willing to make for his country:

> **I stand with Congressman Grijalva on a boycott of Arizona.**
>
> It will be painful for our economy that is barely starting to recover from the Bush Recession, but in order to force the conservatives in power to take racial justice and equality serious, we'll need to translate the message into their mother tongue: money.
>
> So be it. It's a sacrifice I'm willing to make.

Mexican-American Citizen (SB #8) offers his services in furthering the political discussion:

> I am not agreeing with the methods that have been imposed in the state of Arizona but I do acknowledge the problem and I would be one of the first in line to discuss a solution that would honor not just Americans and Mexicans, but humanity as a whole.

As Dickinson (2002) explains, people's movement creates a space and imbues it with symbolic meaning. Therefore, by referencing their mobilization and activism towards social change, bloggers position themselves as engaging in a form of cultural citizenship that constructs the space that they inhabit. Moreover, Gregory Tejeda in particular contrasts this mobilization with the ignorance and inaction of mainstream Americans

across his blogs. He highlights the greater awareness of Latino/as when he writes,

"Latinos have a better understanding than the population at-large of the divisions between

our differing types of government and the importance of maintaining those divisions"

(SB #13). He also brings to the fore the inertia of the political structures, established

above as white and distinct from the local immigrant communities, with regard to

adequate immigration reform:

> BECAUSE WHILE MANY of these local officials claim they are acting because of the federal government failure to act, the problem is that too many of them are moving in the wrong direction on the issue, giving too much credence to the nativist thought process rather than trying to find real solutions to the bureaucratic mess that has become our nation's immigration policy. (SB #15)

Consequently, he asserts,

> Latinos have a better understanding than the population at-large of the divisions between our differing types of government and the importance of maintaining those divisions, and . . . part of the solution to our nation's problems is to have more Latinos in positions of authority. We certainly couldn't do any worse than the political knuckleheads currently in charge. (SB #13)

He makes a claim that the political engagement of Latino/as in the United States through

their is more significant in the construction of U.S. cultural space than the inaction of

white Americans, including politicians.

Intergroup Representational Positionings

This section is focused on the SB 1070 bloggers' positionings associated with

broader public representations of them in relation to other groups. Some of the bloggers'

discourses directly address negative representations of undocumented immigrants.

Specifically in the context of SB 1070, bloggers reveal intersections of race, class, and

culture as linking immigration and "illegality." Consequently, Latino Politics Blogger

(SB #8) asks,

> Does that mean someone who speaks Spanish most of the time could trigger this 'reasonable suspicion'? Or is it someone who has a Piolin sticker on his car? Could someone with darker skin dressed in blue collar worker clothes be an illegal immigrant?

His statement demonstrates how race, class, and culture, are represented and connected to "illegality" in mainstream immigration discourse. Prerna Lal (SB #2) posts a picture of a car with the words, "I'M MEXICAN. PULL ME OVER" (Figure 7) on her blog post, further emphasizing the connections made between "illegal" immigration and Mexican identities:

Figure 7

Furthermore, bloggers reveal a stratification of white/black citizens over brown-skinned citizens and "legal" immigrants over "illegal" immigrants. Sameer (SB #16) more explicitly describes how "illegal" immigration is NOT connected with white people, regardless of class or ethnicity:

> This law is about racial profiling. By illegal immigrant they mean Mexican, and any brown person who they mistake for Mexican. I seriously doubt the Arizona police is going to question any white person to check if he or she is an illegal. AND there are plenty of illegal white immigrants. Illegal Mexicans are their target not all illegal immigrants. This is why this law really is racist.

Many bloggers, whether undocumented or not, speak from a position wherein they are viewed as potentially "illegal" and deportable. Therefore, they position themselves lower

than other ethnic/racial groups, including African Americans: Gregory Tejeda (SB #13)

explains, "U.S. residents as a whole see Latinos as the most-discriminated ethnic or racial

group in this country, compared to almost a decade earlier when African-American

people were the ones that fell into that category." Razib (SB #16) also writes,

> black americans aren't assumed to be non-natives. one reason richard reid, a black
> briton (or mixed to be precise) was outside of profile. so if you're a dark skinned
> south asian shave your head and pretend you're black (at least if you're a dude).

South Asians like Razib blogging about SB 1070 therefore discuss their positioning

within this hierarchal structure as dependent on how they are read racially, noting the

embodied similarities of South Asian and Mexican identities.

> it depends on what we look like, right? some of us look like black people with
> straighter hair. some of us look like mediterranean people. most of us look like the
> darker skinned mexicans (yes, i know this may not be accurate to brown people,
> but i'm speaking from the perspective of a law enforcement official who may not
> be schooled in ethnic distinctions). (razib, SB #16)

This construction complicates the common explication of race in the United States as a

white/black hierarchical binary by injecting the issue of brownness. While those who are

white or black can be and are typically read as "citizens," "brownness" necessarily

signifies foreignness, implicating alien citizenship. Moreover, Razib indicates that

because brownness, as a racial signifier, spans across multiple nationalities and

ethnicities, the level of suspicion to which one is subjected then depends upon yet another

level of hierarchical categorization that privileges, for instance, "Mediterranean people"

over "Mexicans." SB 1070 bloggers' reveal their representations as "illegal" immigrants

as signifying intersecting aspects of race, class, and culture to construct hierarchical

relationships with other groups.

Some bloggers reproduce negative representations of undocumented immigrants in their discourses. One example of this reproduction is Di, who asserts, "I don't agree with illegal immigration and I hate when people take advantage of the system, regardless of where they come from" (SB 1070 #6). However, many bloggers' discourses also challenge these representations by disarticulating immigration and race altogether, elucidating the range of "illegal immigrants" that extends beyond Mexicans and Latino/as. Citing a wide variety of "illegal" communities, ranging from Chinese to African to Russian constructs race, ethnicity, and nationality as not directly related to or indicative of undocumented status. Moreover, it presents the possibility of undocumented status being held by a white body.

Other bloggers directly contest the negative representations of (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants. Dee (SB #4), for example, describes her reader's husband, who is undocumented, as a "hard working father of two," demonstrating both his work ethic and family values. Mexican-American Citizen (SB #8) also invokes a representation of his citizenship and family values by presenting himself as living a "normal" life expected of any U.S. American. In the following hypothetical scenario, he emphasizes the routineness of immigrants' lives in the United States in order to demonstrate why SB 1070 is in fact problematic to Latino/a (brown) U.S. citizens:

> What if I were on my way in to work with a 9am appointment driving through rush hour traffic and I was going to make it just in time to my appointment but now I get pulled over by state enforcement because they felt they had reasonable suspicion. All I'm carrying with me is my insurance, registration, and drivers license just like every other American citizen driving on the road at that time. What if my drivers license is not considered a reasonable amount of proof? What if I'm taken into custody until my identity is verified? At this point, I've now missed my appointment and my job could be in jeopardy or in some instances, I could be let go from my job. So, now I'm unemployed I can no longer provide for my family the way I need to provide for them. Is it still a small price to pay? I'm

American just like you. Just because my pigmentation is a little different that yours, does that mean I have to pay that small price and not you?

Lou (SB #10) relies on a combination of family values and civic responsibility to challenge the Latino Threat Narrative: "And as for Mexican Immigrants TERRORIZING ARIZONANS? Talk to an everyday Arizonan! Working their job, going to school, invested in their community-I'd bet it would be hard to find one that has been TERRORIZED by a Mexican Immigrant."

Throughout this chapter, I have presented examples of how SB 1070 bloggers, to various degrees, are interpellated into, reproduce, challenge, and construct their identities. In this final section, I provide a specific example of how SB 1070 bloggers reposition their identities in a way that emphasizes the interrelatedness of all three parts of the framework.

SB 1070 Bloggers' Repositionings of Identity

As described above, many of the SB 1070 bloggers construct the United States as a white national structure in relation to which they are positioned as the outsiders. However, in this set of examples, bloggers reverse this structure, constructing white people as the outsiders. For instance, they reference white Canadian migrants in Arizona:

> This resentment has been brewing for years, piloted by welfare kings/queens (I mean carpet bagging snow birds early baby boomer retirees) who have wrecked Arizona with their obscene golf courses and retirement communities, uninsulated air-conditioned mansions, olympic sized swimming pools – stripped its resources bare, and are bent upon changing the face of the state erasing its heritage. (Jyotsana, SB #16)

By highlighting the Canadian aspect of immigration, the outsiders who are intruding, taking over, and causing disruptions are redefined as white outsiders, possibly even implying the indistinguishability between white Canadian snowbirds and white residents

of the state. Moreover, racists are positioned as the outside threat. Lou (SB #10) connects

this threat to terrorism:

> A terrorist invasion is upon us!!!!! The illegals are coming. Taking our jobs, using
> up our resources, TERRORIZING our children. Yes I'm talking about the
> terrorist invasion in Arizona-by racists who have made Arizona a dirty,
> ethnocentric, xenophobic place to be. A state RICH in history and beauty, is now
> being subjected to the ugliest attack on civil rights since the 1960s.

The same idea is constructed in Figure 8, a photograph included in one of the blogs from

the 2010 National Day of Action.

Figure 8. No, this isn't hyperbolic. Why are Muslims the only ones called terrorists?
(Prerna Lal, SB #2)

The racist politicians are repositioned as the invaders and terrorists; they are no longer the

nation-state but are in fact the threat to the nation-state. On the other hand, Lou's use of

the word "us" constructs the "regular," everyday citizen—with jobs, resources, and

children—as the basis of the nation-state that needs protection from the threat. The

relationship between members of "brown" immigrant communities and white

"Americans" is flipped, and an argument is being made that it is not race that positions

people in relation to the nation-state but ideological positions.

Consequently, the nation-state structure and it boundaries are redefined in order to

allow the incorporation of immigrants as a part of its community within it and to position

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whites, racists, politicians, etc. as the threat to the nation. This move also challenges

negative intergroup representations of these immigrant communities, re-presenting them

as productive and civic-minded civilians who live in harmony with the land and nature,

as opposed to white snowbirds whose contributions include manmade eyesores that

disrupt nature. Ultimately, it also emphasizes the historical belongingness of the Latino/a

community in relationship to the land, mentioning, for example, the state's "heritage"

that is being destroyed by the "outsiders." This analysis offers an impressive example of

how bloggers reposition themselves in relation to all three categories of the framework in

order to challenge and contest the dominant identity positionings into which they are

produced.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that SB 1070 bloggers respond to the enactment of

SB 1070 by discussing its components in the context of the national ("illegal")

immigration debate, police enforcement, and in connection to racism and racial profiling

in the United States and Arizona. Through my analysis, I have demonstrated how they

constitute a collective subject between undocumented immigrants and a broader Latino/a

immigrant community and how members of other communities also are interpellated into

this collective subject. I again used the diasporic identity framework I presented in

Chapter 2 to examine how SB 1070 bloggers construct their identities around an inchoate,

alien citizenship in relation to the white national structure and its economic and political

institutions but create spaces for themselves through claims to historical belongingness

and cultural citizenship. Furthermore, they struggle with hierarchies constructed in

relation to the intersectionality of status, race, class, and culture. Finally, my analysis

shows how SB 1070 bloggers reposition their identities by subverting their positioning in relation to white people within the structure. In the following chapter, I look across these findings from the two sets of blogs to elucidate their broader implications for social practice.

CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS OF DISCURSIVE

ENGAGEMENT

This chapter focuses on my third research question, which asks about the social practice implications of the discursive engagement by the two sets of blogs, coinciding with the third level of Fairclough's analysis. I seek to build on the analysis from the previous chapters to further understand how bloggers' discourses engage broader structural and discursive constructions that serve as enabling and constraining forces for constructing subjectivities and identity positions. In this vein, I also seek to understand how bloggers' discourses may offer insight into potential avenues for the exercise of agency. I examine the following five areas: (1) collective subjectivity, agency, and the illusion of freedom; (2) constructing/countering discourses of racism; (3) constructions of U.S. immigration discourse; (4) destabilizing identities; and (5) repositioning identities.

Collective Subjectivity, Agency, and the Illusion of Freedom

Because subjects are defined in great part by their ability to act, an important concern in terms of bloggers' engagement with immigration discourses is how the discursive space that they construct as a collective subject may enable and/or constrain their call for action. Charland (1987) writes, "Constitutive rhetorics . . . have power because they are oriented towards action" (p. 143). However, the illusion of freedom is such an illusion because it creates an impression that such action is determined by the subject and not by the text, whereas in fact, interpellation as the collective subject mandates a particular line of action. Charland (1987) suggests that the production of a collective subject constructs this illusion of freedom "because the narrative is already spoken or written" (p. 141). This interpellation reflects, in a sense, Black's (1970) notion

of the second persona, an implied auditor who more or less agrees with the ideologies

presented in the discourse. Further, the production of a collective subject reveals

implications about agency because discursive positioning occurs in relation to structures,

spaces that are transhistorical, and broadly circulating representations of relations

between groups.

The functioning of this space as an illusion of freedom due to predetermined

discourses that call for particular action also raises important questions about

multivocality within the space. If the subject is in fact predetermined by the text, how

does the illusion of freedom constrain what is produced in this space? My orientation to

this question is to address, ultimately, who is allowed to speak here and what are they

allowed to say. In this section, I examine how the collective self in the context of each set

of blogs enables and constrains the bloggers' abilities to speak about the column and

SB1070. I then extend the notion of illusion of freedom to incorporate issues of agency in

the context of weblogs, which are then further analyzed in terms of how bloggers

(re)produce ideologies and destabilize and reposition identities.

Stein Bloggers

The action-orientation of the collective subject is apparent amongst some Stein

bloggers' calls for action against Stein and *TIME Magazine*. For example,

EMERALDJADE (Stein #3) proclaims,

> Due to troubl[ing] new developments against Indian-origin people, it's time to
> stand united for ALL PEOPLE FOR PEACE:
>
> Joel Stein of Time magazine has written a scathing openly racist "humorous"
> article against "dothead" Indians (discussing his hometown Edison and the
> growing Indian population & his discomfort of it), which is uniting Indians all
> over the world to have a peaceful resistance against any form of negativity on any
> group. If people may recall, the dothead name was derived from the dot-buster

movement, designed to promote violence against Indian-origin people. THIS IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US.

Please take a moment to join the petition and please take a moment to write to Time magazine (letters@time.com), if you believe that all groups, including Indians, deserve positive
treatment: http://org2.democracyinaction.org/o/6237/p/dia/act...

Ram Ramaswami (Stein #6) also asserts,

Time has a big business in India. You and many others may want to teach Time that if they want our money, they need to show due courtesy and sensitivity, if not love and respect. If you do, please join me in this worthwhile educational effort and pass on this mail to as many fellow Indians as you can.

His statement uses the words "our" and "fellow" to identify the community and then incorporates a call for that community to act together while EMERALDJADE appeals to the community to "stand united."

These calls for action reflect a dominant argument within the space of the Stein blogs. As discussed earlier, bloggers use language that constructs a sense of identification when addressing the community as audience, presumed to be based on both predefined identities and some degree of ideological affinity. Because of the constructions of community and the collective production of texts by bloggers and commenters, there is a high degree of support, appreciation, and validation found amongst the bloggers for each other. DeafBrownTrash (Stein #2) writes, "[T]hanks, Samhita, for writing this. I read this article last night and was enraged. I was waiting for one of my fave blogs (Feministing, Racialicious, Sepia Mutiny, Angry Asian Man, etc) to comment on this." Comments often reinforce the initial arguments, such as the following:

I've read his [Stein's] other articles, and this one does seem to be in the vein that Ms. Lal describes it to be. I do agree with her for the most part, up to and including the quote she used which bothered me a lot too. (Prakash Jayanthi, Stein #9).

DeafBrownTrash's (Stein #2) following comment presumes that the general audience and blog community can understand and agree with the arguments being made therein due to the commonalities of their experiences:

> To demonstrate to white people who would like to comment on my outrage over this article: *"it's just a joke, why do you have to be so offended over everything. Get over it."* how would you feel if I write an article crying about how my parents' hometown in India is being overrun by too many goddamned white people? or– what if I cry about my local American hometown being overrun by too many white people, either?!?!

Those adopting and expressing oppositional positions to Stein center their experiences and perspectives within the space, perhaps even dismissing those who do not agree as "white."

However, not all comments are supportive of or even in agreement with each other. SM Intern (Stein #1) writes, "One minor thing to keep in mind is that the bloggers don't speak with one voice. One Mutineer may have found that funny, another, offensive, a third, annoying, a fourth, cute...etc. There wasn't even agreement on this TIME piece!" This range of opinions is most evident around the question of whether the column is in fact racist. For example, in response to Anna and other commenters' posts regarding the racism of the Stein article, Abhi (Stein #1) writes,

> Allow me to vehemently disagree :) This was not a racist article. It was clearly, CLEARLY intended to be sharply sarcastic and witty. One can argue that Stein hits in some places and misses in more. If we want to come down on him and say "stick to your day job Stein," I am all for that. His intent was not to be racist though.

He then proceeds to explain his own interpretation of the article: "He is saying that the bigots are too ignorant to even be properly racist. How do people not get this??" Such bloggers are sometimes labeled "apologists" (jagr721, Stein #1) or subjected to the same level of outrage that is directed at Stein:

What really cooks me here is . . . . the Indian-Americans, the ones who keep their heads down, "adjust" and don't make waves, who will tell us not to be so sensitive and to shrug it off. "Let them say what they want. We should not internalize these things and let them bother us. Grow a sense of humor." . . . Fuck you if you CAN take a "joke." (Anna, Stein #1).

The different voices therefore at times function to recreate a negotiation dynamic as to who can speak as and speak for the community which becomes a hierarchical dynamic. When James (Stein #10), an outsider to the South Asian community, asserts that Edison is a victim of "reverse colonialism," he is challenged on a number of aspects by a multitude of voices. Siddique (Stein #10), for example, writes, "Indians did not have a choice when the British/Portugese came. They simply conquered and subjugated an entire race. By contrast Indian immigrants in Edison are here with the consent of the US government." Sun (Stein #10) also responds,

First of all, "reverse colonialism"?? What, is that like "reverse racism"? Hahaha wow. Please research what colonialism actually means. How can you seriously compare the immigration of Indians to Edison to British Imperialism in India??? You don't seem like a stupid person, but you sure as hell are ignorant.

Therefore, the multiple levels of interpellations evidenced in the constitution of the collective subject through these blogs largely define the subjectivity of the collective community as opposed to and challenging Stein and his column, reflecting the contextual nature of dominance. Those interpellated and subjugated by the mainstream discourse of which Stein's column is a part are then reconstituted through that interpellation into another hierarchical structure within their new collective community in which voices not in line with that mandated subject position are both diminished and discursively positioned as being an outsider within.

SB 1070 Bloggers

In terms of a call to action, there are also calls for mobilization throughout the SB 1070 blogs against SB 1070 and in favor of immigration reform. In terms of the different perspectives making up the call and allowed within the imagined community, SB 1070 blogs evidence a shared dominant narrative. Although the blogs typically consist of fewer comments than the Stein blogs, the comments still evince bloggers' expressions of support for each other. For example, as Manuél (SB #11) writes about his frustrations, Xulma responds, "[S]orry to hear that Manny. I met you in DC. you were so energized. Sorry to hear this is depressing you." Similarly, Christina (SB #10) writes, "Well said Lou! I feel the same way!" When Postgraduado (SB #7) begins his blog by stating, "Before going to work on Friday morning, I heard the news on the radio about what had happened in Arizona," he does not actually mention what happened on that Friday, i.e., the signing of SB 1070, but knows that his readers are sympathetic. The constitution of the collective subject has effectively functioned to construct a space that evinces a shared and predominant perspective about SB 1070.

Reproducing the voice of the "other" occasionally appears through comments, wherein members of the collective self most often respond with rational explanations of their perspective. For example, ElAcademia (SB #8) defends racial profiling in one of his comments:

> The facts show that most illegal immigrants come from Latin America and overwhelmingly from Mexico. If it was reported that a Chinese terrorist was on a plane and threatening to blow it up should I be frisking 87 year old Mexican woman or looking for the Chinese male? The racism here is very real and it is being perpetrated by latinos.

Mexican-American Citizen (SB #8) directly addresses ElAcademia, "To understand what I am about to say, I believe you will either had to have been discriminated against at one time or be a Latino/Latina." Then the blogger proceeds to provide a lengthy explanation of why it is problematic to target a small group of people for identification or citizenship checks, concluding with, "I'm American just like you. Just because my pigmentation is a little different that yours, does that mean I have to pay that small price and not you?" The presumption is made that those who are part of the collective self within the space of these blogs, i.e., those who either "have been discriminated against at one time or . . . [are] Latino," will share the perspective that Mexican-American Citizen presents and not actually need his explanation the way that an outsider such as ElAcademia would.

The following exchange proceeds along similar lines. Ultima (SB #4) remarks, "If you oppose SB 1070 and E-verify, then you are for open borders and can no longer tout secure borders as part of your preferred CIR." In response, Dee (SB #4) points out,

> SB1070 is racial profiling and draconian. As Kobach said, the aim is to make life hell for illeeeegals; it also makes life hell for latinos. You CANNOT say if you do not support racial profiling bill sb1070 you support open borders. That would be like me saying if you support sb1070 you support the KKK.

Dee's response suggests that one can support SB 1070 without being an extremist, i.e., a KKK member, just as one can oppose SB 1070 without taking what she deems as an extreme position of open borders. The space provides Dee the opportunity to engage and refute ultima's argument while indirectly promoting moderation in her argument in order to facilitate civil discourse in that space. At the same time, the conversation, just as in the one above between ElAcademia and Mexican-American Citizen, reinforces a dominant voice of the constituted subject within that space. Dee also tells ultima about readers of her blog, "One thing I noticed about your comment(s) that I am sure my readers have also

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noticed: You have NOT refuted one single word." Through this statement, Dee constructs

her readers as central to that space, and ultima, despite being a prolific commenter, as

outside of it.

That dominant voice can then suppress undesirable voices of the other, both

substantively and otherwise. For example, ElAcademia (SB #8) writes,

> I find most of you on here to be apologists for your own kind. Illegal immigration
> is a big problem. All the screaming on here is always about the poor illegal
> immigrant. No discussions on the deaths of American Citizens.

Although ElAcademia remains ambiguous about his/her identity throughout the blog

despite a screen name indicative of a Latino background, he/she also deliberately

distinguishes him/herself from the collective subject by labeling them as "your own

kind." Irma (SB #8) then responds to ElAcademia by stating,

> It would appear that "ELAcademia" has a poor grasp of English and Spanish
> grammar.
> In English, there are rules in the construction of sentences. Sentences end with a
> period, exclamation point, or a question mark. " No discussions on the deaths of
> American Citizens. " is a phrase, not a sentence. Phrases do not end with a period.
> In addition, "citizens" should not be capitalized.

Rather than responding to the initial claim, Irma attacks the grammatical errors; but rather

than appearing petty, the criticism functions within the space to dismiss ElAcademia's

argument due to Irma's membership within the blog collective. Consequently, these

examples illustrate how the dominant voice of the collective appears to be fulfilling the

function of perpetuating the illusion of freedom by determining the appropriate and

permissible opinions and outlooks of the bloggers.

However, a closer look reveals greater variation in the ways this voice is

expressed in the texts. Many bloggers justify their disapproval of SB 1070 so that their

text problematizes the law's racial profiling rather than support undocumented

immigrants.

> Since there is little urgency in enforcing the tax issue (wages are usually paid by people who are here, not some shadows you dont see)—which would be a lot easier than rounding up and deporting illegals—I infer that the real intent of this law is not about illegals bleeding the government resources. . . . what remains, however uncomfortable, is that the AZs just don't want the Mexicans around. You can clothe it in all the sophistry you want, but I call it racism. (desidouche, SB #16)

This was in line with a larger strategy of shifting the conversation away from

immigration to its intersecting issues of racial profiling, civil rights, and government

policy:

> As I said many times before, I do not agree with illegal immigration, there I said it again. The new law in Arizona it is not well written. I don't have a problem with police upholding the laws, but this one is vague and creates the opportunity for abuse and racial profiling, here is why. (Di, SB #6)

This claim does not assail the law directly for its treatment of undocumented immigrants

but rather for the way that its writing creates the potential for rights violations, suggesting

that a better written law might have been acceptable. Other bloggers argue that the law is

problematic because it is a state law about an issue within the purview of the federal

government, rather than because of what it accomplishes or constructs:

> My own belief about the Arizona political actions is based largely on the fact that I fully comprehend how offended local government types everywhere get when they think the federal government is meddling in their local affairs. No one can seriously say that national citizenship and its implications on foreign policy is something that a state or local official is in any way qualified to address. (Gregory Tejeda, SB #13)

> These strategies ultimately create space for bloggers' arguments by making them

appear balanced, rational, and therefore comprehensible by and palatable to rational

audience members who are opposed to racism but may support legislation to curb

undocumented immigration. These strategies are more intensely used by bloggers who are not self-identified undocumented immigrants but who are otherwise interpellated by SB 1070, which speaks to the complexities and inchoateness of the collective subject constructed in this context. In other words, it must be considered that greater contestation of the boundaries of the collective subject may enhance, rather than detract from, the possibilities for action within these spaces.

Agency, Interpellated Subjectivity, and Blog Discourses

Thus far, I have examined the illusion of freedom as it emerges *within* the spaces of weblogs enabling validation and/or rejection of particular voices as part of the collective, but equally important is understanding how discursive agency operates *beyond* those spaces. In the context of the blogging community, the call to action is somewhat constrained by the bounds of that community, with limited possibilities of being heard beyond it. The collective subject constituted through these blogs is largely predetermined as confined to these blogs, a point that Manuél (SB #11) makes when he writes, "A rage has been building inside of me that I recognize as unhealthy, so I remain silent on this page in deference to speaking out in real life through everyday conversation and community organizing (Socialist!!!)."

Indicative of this illusion of freedom, the effects of the blogs, in terms of structural change, are not readily apparent. Although the most controversial provisions of SB 1070 have since been stayed by a U.S. federal judge, similar provisions have since been enacted by five other states in the United States and are pending in others; many of these have also been judicially blocked. As of this writing, the harshest of such laws was passed in Alabama, wherein many of the provisions remain in force, resulting in the

ongoing discrimination of Latino/a residents. A U.S. federal appeals court opted to withhold a decision about it while the U.S. Supreme Court began hearing oral arguments about SB 1070 on April 25, 2012 and is expected to make a decision about its constitutionality by the end of the summer (Dade, 2010). The apologies issued by *TIME Magazine* and Stein may have been, at least in part, in response to some of the outrage expressed within the blogs, but they remain problematic and in any case are not indicative of changes in the discursive structure. In this context, the illusion of freedom is extremely relevant to whether and how discursive engagement through interpellation into the collective subject of these blog communities can provide dynamic opportunities for exerting agency.

The illusion of freedom and ability to act hinges on the types of action called for within the blogs and the impetus for members of the blogging communities to follow through on them. For example, many of the Stein bloggers provide specific email addresses and links to petitions that can then surpass the space of these blogs. In that sense, the blogs operate as a "testing ground" for working out and finding validation for arguments that can be incorporated into such derivative discourses. Another avenue for such potential stems from connections between the blogging community and other related movements. For example, Xulma (SB #11) tells the main blogger Manuél, "I met you in DC. you were so energized. Sorry to hear this is depressing you," indicating a relationship outside of the blogs. Therefore, the discourse produced within this space is both confined to those participating in it and has the potential to inform conversations outside of the blogging community, i.e., have the "*potential* of being heard" (Mitra, 2005, p. 379).

While Charland (1987) appears to suggest a lack of agency, he also suggests the

possibility of transforming the narratives through "ideological and rhetorical work . . . at

the level of the constitutive narrative itself, providing stories that through the

identificatory principle shift and rework the subject and its stories" (p. 148). Hall's (1985,

1988) theorization of ideological struggle is indicative of the notion that discursive

change is a process, not an event. Therefore, insofar as discursive engagement is linked to

agency, I choose not to make the argument that this relationship must be evaluated in

terms of concrete and immediate change. Flores (1996) asserts the importance,

particularly for diasporic communities, of creating discursive spaces from which they can

reach out to mainstream audiences. Although she never specifically discusses this in

relation to agency, she does appear to suggest that the space itself is a step towards

agency, a proposition that should not be readily dismissed, especially in terms of the

spaces that the Internet offers (see Mitra, 2005; Mitra and Watts, 2002). As Campbell

(2005) writes,

> Whatever else it may be, rhetorical agency refers to the capacity to act, that is, to
> have the competence to speak or write in a way that will be recognized or heeded
> by others in one's community. Such competency permits entry into ongoing
> cultural conversations and is the *sine qua non* of public participation, much less
> resistance as a counter-public. (p. 3)

Consequently, these spaces also may operate as a preliminary testing ground for

arguments and discourses that precede and "[permit] entry into ongoing cultural

conversations." In this vein, the analysis in this study has demonstrated how the

collective subject constituted by each set of bloggers constructs their blogs as spaces in

which they can, to varying degrees, engage in debate and discussion about issues related

to immigration that they interpret as specifically about race, ethnicity, and or community.

In the next section, I look at how bloggers engage the notion of racism in ways that further enable and constrain their engagement with the discourse.

Constructing/Countering Discourses of Racism

Bloggers' constructions of racism play an important role in the ways in which bloggers engage the texts, including their entitlement to criticize the texts and their producers. According to van Dijk (1992), ". . . ethnic and racial prejudice are prominently acquired and shared within the white dominant group through everyday conversation and institutional text and talk. Such discourse serves to express, convey, legitimate, or indeed to conceal or deny such negative ethnic attitudes" (pp. 87-88). Bloggers' discourses, then, also reveal an ideological struggle around the construction of racism; some use various strategies to legitimate it, thereby shielding it from scrutiny or contestation, while others unequivocally denounce it as (re)producing racist hierarchies and therefore warranting contestation. In this section, I illustrate how many Stein bloggers, as members of immigrant communities, reproduce the discourse that van Dijk identifies by legitimating and/or denying the racism of Stein, whom they construct as a member of the dominant white community. I also discuss how other bloggers from both sets focus on the production of racism in the discourses they engage and its deleterious consequences.

Many Stein bloggers reproduce dominant notions of racism that constrain their engagement with the discourse. Specifically, some bloggers employ a strategy of justification, in which "people justify a negative act or discourse relative to a minority group member by. . . . explicitly assert[ing] that it was justified" (van Dijk, 1992, p. 93). Swarup (Stein #7) illustrates this strategy in the following statement by defending the "truth" of Stein's column:

I left US ten years back but I totally agree with what Joel Stein has written on the article. Being an Indian, we must accept the fact with a pinch of Salt. If you visit Oak tree road in NJ Edison, you will see only south Asian people. Even buckets are placed in Parking lots to reserve for their friends.

Because Swarup sees an element of veracity to what Stein writes, its racist quality must be accepted and tolerated "with a pinch of salt," which further implies that there may be a bit of truth to the claim.

Another strategy emphasizes the significance of intent in relation to racism, using what van Dijk (1992) refers to as "intention-denial" (p. 91) of racism. This move suggests that discourse/actions are not to be construed as racist if the speaker/actor did not *intend* the racist outcome. Such a move is illustrated by Bovice (Stein #1) who writes, "I don't think Stein's intent was to be racist; the only thing he's guilty of is being straight up unfunny." Another blogger, mc202701 (Stein #4), also writes,

[Stein] obviously did not do a good enough job at making clear his satirical intent -- to mock "yellow peril" sentiment -- since so many smart people who frequent this blog appear to have taken the article at face value. Still, I think it's not quite accurate to lump him with, say, people from Hollywood who have no satirical intent and who do in fact just score cheapshots off Asian stereotypes with nothing beyond that surface. Stein's intentions were not bad and quite different.

This statement suggests that Stein's column should be evaluated according to its intent, which this particular reader construes as satirical. Such moves bolster a form of racetalk more commonly identified in scholarship with white U.S. Americans in which they preface racist statements with qualifiers such as, "I'm not racist, but…" (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). These qualifiers attempt to absolve the speaker of any charge of racism because the speaker does not *intend* to be racist by saying what follows. Moreover, mc202701 asserts that the blame lies with the "smart people who . . . have taken the article at face value" who fail to understand that meaning. This strategy is also used by

other bloggers who accuse those who are upset about Stein's column of being "crybabies" (Abhishek, Stein #4) and state that they need to "really chill the fish out" (Long Vacation, Stein #1). These remarks show a counterargument in which those who argue that the column is racist are censured for being "oversensitive" (van Dijk, 1992, p. 90), once more shifting the focus away from the racist action or event.

Hence, those bloggers who try to determine whether Stein's goal was racist take the focus away from how the discourse in question (re)produces racist ideologies. Van Dijk (1992) suggests that this is part of a larger strategy of impression management that "focus[es] on a more permanent attitude rather than on the specific (negative) opinion now being expressed about some specific outgroup member or some specific ethnic or racial action or event" (p. 90). In other words, by assessing Stein's intent, bloggers' discourses evaluate his attitude rather than his speech. Interestingly, both Stein and *TIME Magazine* made these exact same moves in their apologies. On Twitter, Stein, incorporating yet another stereotype, wrote, "Didn't meant [*sic*] to insult Indians with my column this week. Also stupidly assumed their emails would follow that Gandhi non-violence thing." *TIME Magazine* appended to the column the following apology: "*We sincerely regret that any of our readers were upset by this humor column of Joel Stein's. It was in no way intended to cause offense.*" Both of these apologies, along with the South Asian bloggers who focus on Stein's intent rather than on his production, effectively let Stein "off the hook." Consequently, the bloggers engage in and reproduce a discourse that continues to sustain and legitimate the production of racist ideology.

Some bloggers astutely point out that confusion around this issue arises from the distinction between labeling Stein as a racist versus identifying his column as a (re)production of racist ideology. For example, ak (Stein #1) writes,

> unfortunately, that tone, whether or not intended, was not present in joel stein's article - which is why i cannot say for certain that this article did not reflect him as a racist. perhaps it really IS because he a terrible writer and was unable to convey a sufficient level of humour to put this content out of the realm of racism. but he failed, and now i'm just left with the thought that: joel stein is (maybe) a racist.

This statement indicates that intention is not comprehensible to readers because, as ak also states, it is a question that "only . . . the author knows or can confirm." Van Dijk (1992) points out that "intention denials . . . are strategically effective, since the accuser has few ways to actually prove negative intentions."

Additionally, many bloggers rely on a notion of racism that does not revolve around intention and focuses on outcomes or what is produced. Anna (Stein #1) argues,

> And speaking of the "R"-bomb:
> -despite your (apparently) being a member of a "minority" group
> -just because you are not usually, actively racist
> -even if it wasn't your intention to sound so racist
> -though you may have an Indian friend or three, who kissed your ass and boot-licked their way through some compliment of your…work…
> IT WAS RACIST.

Gautam Jois (Stein # 8) also writes, "His attempt at humor (and I'm being charitable; maybe he really *did* intend to write a racist screed) falls flat precisely because it seems to belie an underlying xenophobia." Both bloggers dismiss the relevance of Stein's intention in determining the (re)production of racist ideology through what he wrote. They highlight that his specific form of satire may in fact be a shield for the racism that underlies it rather than an indication of true intent. What matters, then, is what the discourse constructs rather than what the speaker may or may not mean for it to construct.

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Moreover, bloggers construct their subjection to racism in relation to its material consequences of racial violence. Radhika Marya (Stein #10), for example, highlights personal experiences of such treatment:

> When my family first moved to the states from the U.A.E. in 1993, we lived in Woodbridge — a couple of towns away from Edison. One of five Indians in my elementary school, I got called "dot head" (the same insult Stein brings up in his piece without acknowledging the racist history of the term and the terrifying "dot-busters" attacks of the late 1980s in Jersey City) and dealt with all kinds of abuse.

Reflecting on historical instances of racial violence targeted at South Asian Americans, some bloggers then criticize the way that Stein satirizes such experiences. EMERALDJADE (Stein #3) connects Stein's writing to the racial violence to which South Asians have been subjected: "If people may recall, the dothead name was derived from the dot-buster movement, designed to promote violence against Indian-origin people. THIS IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US."

Similarly, Feynman007 (Stein #1) writes,

> Indian Americans have been in the recent past targets of racist attacks in the US. At times of economic hardship, minorities and immigrants are often made scapegoats and become targets of violent racist attacks. Inciting such hatred in the guise of humor is foolish at best and sinister at worst. Shame on Joel Stein! Shame on TIME magazine, a once respected news magazine that has reduced itself to a racist rag!

Consequently, the connections that many bloggers make between Stein's column and the material and structural realities of racism, including the Dot Buster movement and other violent attacks on South Asians in the United States, as well as the suffering of many South Asians in their home countries as a result of a racist colonial legacy, refocus the conversation towards the material consequences of Stein's column in terms of social reproduction.

At the same time, they often respond to and/or pre-empt the counter-argument that they are oversensitive by using qualifiers about their own positionalities to justify their outrage. Such justifications primarily focus on their ability to have a sense of humor, largely with regard to race. Radhika Marya (Stein #10) writes,

> Having grown up in Edison, I have made my fair share of jokes about how "Indian" the town is. I shared Stein's regret when the Pizza Hut transformed into an Indian eatery. I even knew a few people who referred to John P. Stevens High School as John "Patel" Stevens. But there are ways to laugh at race and changing demographics without resorting to the Indian doctor stereotype or making fun of India's poor.

Similarly, Sanjay (Stein #6) writes,

> I don't easily get offended . . . I always pride my self for being a good sport, finding humor in poor stereotypes . . . So, I usually give columnists the benefit of the doubt when reading opinion pieces, until one of my fellow 8 Asians pointed out Joel Stein's TIME column, *My Own Private India*. I was shocked, I was angered, I tried to find the real purpose of this "piece," but then I was just plain offended.

These and other comments suggest a pattern of thoughtful analysis that in other instances has found humor in racial satire, but in this case did not reach that same conclusion. Consequently, the offense is justified through a claim that it is indeed rational and not emotional:

> I read Joel's article several times to understand what exactly he was trying to do. I didn't want to label him a racist just because everyone else is fuming about his article all over Facebook. I wanted to be fair and objective. I believe that Joel was trying to be funny but didn't quite succeed. Oh, and he just might be a little racist. (CurryBear, Stein #4)

The bloggers suggest that they have tried to give Stein the benefit of the doubt and just could not do so following a "fair and objective" evaluation of his writing. Such qualifications of the offense increase the overall credibility of the speakers by pre-

empting arguments that they are merely thin-skinned or prone to overly emotional reactions to racial humor, thereby furthering the validity of their findings of racism.

The significance of the move to discursively emphasize the production of racism becomes apparent when considering the SB 1070 blogs. The relationship between the discursive act of passing the bill is more unequivocally related to the material consequences that it produces, as indicated by the intensity of the structural positioning described and (re)produced in the blogs. Consequently, the intent of the legislators or SB 1070 supporters was not debated by the bloggers. Moreover, their explicit efforts to link immigration, on the one hand, and race and class on the other, pre-empt any attempts by SB 1070 supporters to either deny the racism of SB 1070 based in intent or justify it based on the "truth" that "illegal" immigration exists. Ricardo (SB #8), for example, specifically names "the Anti-Latino (forget "Illegal Immigrant") stance of the redneck Republicans." Sameer (SB #16) also writes, "In the end, this law may indeed reduce illegal Mexican immigration (that is who this bill sadly is really targeting) because the situation has gotten more dangerous for them." There is little hesitation to call out SB 1070 as the racial profiling and targeting of Mexicans, Latinos, and other "brown-skinned gente" (Manuél, SB #11). In noting the ways in which immigration laws and mainstream immigration discourses position immigrants outside the nation-state as racial outsiders and legally sanction racial profiling, bloggers' discourses *rearticulate* immigration laws and race. As Dick (2011) points out, proponents of restrictions on immigration frequently claim that the laws target not any particular racial group, but only undocumented immigrants, in order to deny the relationship between the laws and race. The bloggers, however, explicitly highlight how the laws and notions of illegality contain particular

representations of race in order to challenge that argument and focus on exactly how SB 1070, despite any claims to a non-racist "intent," produces racism.

The different approaches to constructing racism reflect the different positionings of the two groups of bloggers. While many of the Stein bloggers, in denying Stein's racism, reproduce the "model minority" expectation to not make waves in order to maintain their status, SB 1070 bloggers are not precluded by such a positioning and in fact have little in terms of status to lose. Moreover, insofar as both sets of bloggers do focus on elucidating and criticizing how the discourses (re)produce racism, they construct positionings from which they are in fact entitled to challenge and contest those discourses. In the next section, I look more specifically at how the bloggers specifically construct U.S. immigration discourse through their texts.

Constructions of U.S. Immigration Discourse

Earlier in this paper, I relied on Hall (1985, 1988) to argue that discourses are systems constructed through ideological frameworks that are used to construct meaning; such ideological frameworks are not constant or stable but compete with each other for dominance. Moreover, discourses perpetually draw upon other discursive systems for their meanings. The purpose of this section, then, is to highlight the complexities of ways in which bloggers engage the various ideological frameworks to construct a discourse of U.S. immigration. I focus on four overarching and largely integrated ideological frameworks: (a) constructing/countering triumphal multiculturalism; (b) reproducing American Dream mythology; (c) advocating for entitlement to rights; and (d) defending normative standards of acceptability.

Constructing/Countering Triumphal Multiculturalism

Bloggers' discourses reveal a struggle around the ideologies of triumphalism and multiculturalism in their construction of immigration in the context of the United States. Triumphalism has a long history in the ideological construction of the United States as a nation established as "a triumphant march towards the perfect fulfillment [*sic*] of its founding ideals of freedom, equality and justice" (Kim, 2004, p. 989). Claiming such universally moral and desirable values, the United States was therefore destined and even morally obligated to promote its interests, thereby bolstering the conception of Manifest Destiny, the idea that the United States was divinely inclined to spread across the North American continent to its natural borders. Triumphalism also commonly manifests itself today through the nation's aggressive foreign policies in the name of spreading democracy (Crothers, 2011). Multiculturalism is often thought to challenge such "triumphalist narratives" because, especially insofar as it is based in pluralism and relativism rather than universalism, it celebrates the presence of marginalized groups. However, according to Kim (2004), multiculturalism "characterizes difference in a way that neatly harmonizes with rather than disturbing triumphalist narratives" (p. 991). She argues that multiculturalism not only sustains the triumphalist narrative but bolsters it by proclaiming "diversity as the key to America's exceptionalism and supremacy" (p. 991).

> Official multiculturalism tells a story about how the nation came to contain so many coloured bodies. This account of the origins of America's diversity depicts the nation as a shining beacon of freedom and emphasizes the role of voluntary immigration. (Kim, 2004, p. 993)

This lens of "triumphal multiculturalism" is frequently reproduced particularly within the Stein blogs. Sun (Stein #10) describes the United States, "America is at its core an ever-changing amalgam of identities because that's our foundation. That's the

beauty of it, and why it attracts so many different kinds of people to it." The "amalgam of identities" is a reference to the melting pot metaphor that calls forth the U.S. historical "foundation" as a nation of immigrants while ignoring such histories as the colonization of land through European immigration, restricted immigration and citizenship due to ideals of racial assimilability, and the involuntariness of much of the immigration (Lawston & Murillo, 2009-2010; Luibhéid, 2002; Somerville, 2005; Thomas, 2010). This same "foundation" is drawn upon when Samhita (Stein #2) refers to "several generations of immigrants that have worked to build not only their own communities, but the very bedrock of US society," while Krishna Shah (Stein #1) asserts that "immigrants gave birth to America." Triumphal multiculturalism, particularly when defined as pluralism, also eclipses the power differences that constitute the relations across cultural groups in favor of celebrating superficial differences based in equality (Kim, 2004; Mignolo, 2009; Shome, 1998), as illustrated by Radhika Marya's (Stein #10) recollection of when "[w]hite, black, Indian, and Chinese students alike attended garba events at our high school." Bloggers co-opt an ideological framework of triumphal multiculturalism to reproduce a U.S. national origins myth, highlight the accomplishments of its ensuing diversity, and justify continued South Asian immigration to the United States as an augmentation of this diversity.

At the same time, some bloggers from both sets also contest triumphal multiculturalism by drawing specifically upon U.S. imperialist history, contextualizing the immigration that helped establish the United States as a colonialist project and recovering the issues of power and inequalities that multiculturalism suppresses. Manuél (SB #9) characterizes U.S. Representative Steve King and Arizona Senator Russell

Pearce, the author of SB 1070, as "conquistadors," referencing their colonialist origins. Lou (SB #10) refers to SB 1070 supporters as "outsiders who have NO idea of the dynamic border history of my homeland," highlighting the shifts in the U.S.-Mexico border resulting from wars through which the United States obtained control of the land from Mexico. Although the U.S.-Mexican War is commonly considered a key moment in U.S. triumphalism (Crothers, 2011), Lou frames it from a critical lens of anti-imperialism. Sun (Stein #10), who simultaneously upholds the claims of triumphal multiculturalism, also writes, "What culture is it you're trying to protect? The culture you built upon the sufferings of other people when your predecessors (immigrants themselves) kicked them out of their land?" These examples better disrupt triumphal multiculturalist narratives because they "create a counternarrative (or counter-narratives) that reconceptualize American racial dynamics and takes seriously the specificities of group histories and the ongoing enunciation of racial difference and inequality" (Kim, 2004, p. 997). Comments like these not only challenge the triumphalism of multiculturalism by historicizing U.S. immigration as a process of imperialism and conquest, but also redefine Latino-Americans and indigenous populations as the original settlers who were conquered through the process of white immigration to the North American continent. Consequently, they unsettle the assumption that diversity in the United States is a prototype for purportedly U.S. values such as freedom, equality, and justice.

Stein bloggers construct the historical context in one of two ways. They contrast historical "white" immigration with contemporary immigration to the United States. For example, Siddique (Stein #10) explains, "Indians did not have a choice when the

British/Portugese came. They simply conquered and subjugated an entire race. By contrast, Indian immigrants in Edison are here with the consent of the US government." Contextualizing British colonialism, Siddique posits Indian immigration to the United States as consensual and therefore qualitatively different from its foundational immigration. Stein bloggers also invoke triumphal multiculturalism to accentuate its absurdity and humor, ironically justifying the Indian "influx" into the United States as just deserts for the way that white Americans initially took over the land. Prerna Lal (Stein #1), writes, "Incidentally, Stein, since whites once dubbed the U.S. as 'Indian land,' what's wrong with flooding the country with immigrants from India?" CurryBear (Stein #4) also writes,

> It was Manifest Destiny. Indians have a belief that they are destined for Westward expansion. You remember Manifest Destiny from History class right? It is the same belief Americans used in the 1800s to acquire more land and kill an entire ethnic group of, ironically, Indians. Now that Indians have taken over your childhood town, you can think of this as karma.

In other words, drawing upon the importance of consent in the process of immigration, they pronounce contemporary multiculturalism as perhaps both earnestly and ironically more triumphal than the multiculturalism that initially established the United States as a nation.

Reproducing American Dream Mythology

The myth of the American Dream has been described as consisting of the following claims:

> . . . the belief that everyone can always start over and participate equally in the polity; the view that it is reasonable to expect success; and the assumption that achieving the dream is the result of individual effort, actions under one's control, merit, certain personal traits, and adherence to particular European American core values. (Rodríguez, 2009, p. 173)

This explication reveals a number of ideologies that undergird the American Dream, including liberalism, meritocracy, and individualism.

Many bloggers across both sets of blogs reproduce American Dream ideology to construct immigration to the United States as an ideal, a significant goal for personal survival and success. Lou (SB #10), in presenting his grandparents' story, explains,

> They came to this country for freedom. For the opportunity to work hard, raise a family and have security. I am so fortunate to be a piece of this immigrant legacy and part of this vast family. We are part of something bigger than ourselves and hope that the same opportunity afforded to our family will continue to be afforded to others. BROWN OR OTHERWISE!

Lou suggests that the United States offers important opportunities that immigrants duly seek out for themselves. A similar idea is employed by Dee when she describes the story of a reader's spouse:

> His mother brought him to this country in the 90's from El Salvador. He was just a child. The country was a war torn shambles and they sought escape and the American Dream. He went to school and did well. Today, he is a hard working father of two.

She reinscribes the viability of the American Dream through the narrative of the person she describes. He overcame the obstacles in the "war torn shambles" of his native country, "did well" in school in the United States, and is now a "hard working father of two." Consequently, his saga is indicative of both strength of character and morality in studying diligently, presumably acquiring a job, and raising a family, all important markers of "'good citizens' . . . [who] are personally responsible, financially stable people who work hard to achieve the American Dream" (Chávez, 2010, p. 142). Dee also implies that this narrative would not have been possible had he remained in El Salvador and was achievable only because he was raised in the United States, where the American Dream is possible.

All of these examples demonstrate how the American Dream constitutes a significant part of U.S. immigration discourse, as Beck (2008) expounds, "The image is sharper and more vivid when the striver arrives from the oppressive world outside our borders. In other words, the immigrant is the super-achiever whose first success in America is getting here" (p. 150). CurryBear (Stein #4) builds on this idea when he writes,

> Edison belongs to the people. It's a place just like any other place in this country where people can come, make an honest living and lead a successful life. Whether it's one Indian or a million, every one of them has a right to come into Edison and make an honest living.

The implication here is that the United States offers the opportunity to "make an honest living and lead a successful life," which then should be available for anyone who is willing and able to take advantage of it. The American Dream is more than just a narrative; it is a "right."

Many scholars have pointed out that the American Dream's emphasis on meritocracy calls upon a notion of abstract liberalism that ignores or dismisses institutional barriers, while ironically relying upon a hierarchical system in order for social mobility to be possible and blaming the individual who fails to rise within this structure (see Anguiano & Chávez, 2011; Rodríguez, 2009; Smith, 2009; Hoerl, 2008; Winslow, 2010). El Random Hero (SB #3) directly speaks to this phenomenon when he problematizes the destiny of the undocumented immigrant "to work in factories that exploit them and their families as they die trying to get across the border only to continue to be exploited in the U.S. as well," regardless of individual merit or character. Bloggers generally do not ignore such institutional barriers and many in fact specifically call

attention to the racialization of the United States and its exploitative economic structure as structural barriers to the advancement of immigrant communities.

For the most part, however, their discourses still reproduce American Dream ideology and there is little attempt to challenge it, although they do express some ambivalence around it. While Krishna Shah (Stein #1) does point out that "India is the fifth largest economy in the world in terms of purchasing power," implying that the United States does not have a monopoly on opportunity, he still does not directly disrupt the idea that the United States offers those opportunities. SB 1070 bloggers also demonstrate how laws such as SB 1070 are an obstacle to the American Dream. Mexican-American Citizen's (SB #8) hypothetical story, in which he is stopped on his way to work, is delayed until his identification is verified, and consequently loses his job, demonstrates how the law potentially constitutes a potential barrier to him "provid[ing] for my family the way I need to provide for them," i.e., being a "good citizen" by living the American Dream based on his own merit. Yet, such examples as this suggest that if SB 1070 is repealed and/or comprehensive immigration reform is effectively enacted, the American Dream remains intact.

While this engagement of the American Dream ideology likely reflects its pervasiveness (see Smith, 2009), it perhaps also largely stems from the position of all bloggers as members of immigrant communities in the United States. Immigrants would in all probability not come to the United States if they were not invested in the belief that it offered compelling opportunities, making their interpellation into the American Dream an important precursor to their subject positions as U.S. immigrants. Even those who did not actively choose to come to the United States may still want to frame their positions

here are relatively better than that prior to coming to the U.S., a goal that is aided by the

American Dream. This ideology consequently prevails over and helps resolve any

dissonance that might be experienced with regard to the poor treatment, lack of

opportunity, and/or racism faced by immigrants in the United States.

Advocating for Entitlement to Rights

Bloggers also take refuge in a discourse about being entitled to rights that

constitutes an ideological foundation for the United States as a nation and for the

bloggers' subject positions as "good citizens" of that nation. They reproduce a mythology

that professes that the nation was founded upon the preservation of rights rather than the

violation of them:

> More importantly, if you think it is alright to snatch away any right of Mexican
> Americans/anyone else for a little less porous border, perhaps you will do well to
> consider Ben Franklin's opinion: People who trade liberty for security deserve
> neither. (desidouche, SB #16)

Alluding to the figure of Benjamin Franklin draws upon a history of the United States'

establishment as a nation based in liberty and freedom. Such reproduction of a rights

discourse is commonly seen throughout the SB 1070 blogs. For example, Irma (SB #8)

writes,

> The issue here is whether the state of Arizona can legally stop people in the street
> to verify their immigration status? I believe that eventually the Supreme Court
> will say that there is nothing in the US Constitution that justifies this kind of state
> sponsored harassment.

Similar to the American Dream, even while Irma decries SB 1070 as a violation of rights,

she still implies a faith and recourse in the U.S. Constitution and the Supreme Court as

authoritative protectors. Dee (SB #5) similarly pleads,

> We the People implore you, President Obama. Speak for Truth, Justice and the
> American Way. Keep our Constitution, our Freedoms and our Civil Liberties in

tact. Please do not let this Racial Profiling bill hurt any more Latinos in Maricopa County or across the state. We have faith in you that you will do that right thing!

She echoes a rhetorical strategy that Condit (1987) ties to the anti-segregation movement in the United States of the 1940s and 1950s:

> The emphasis on law and the Constitution was, in part, derived from the Blacks' use of the law to petition for housing, transportation, school, and judicial equity. Once Blacks were seen, and saw themselves, as equal human beings and as contributors to <democracy>, their argument for the same legal protections held by other citizens were more compelling. The term "law" thus functions in a unique manner: Its successful application admits agents to all other ideographs (the "rights") of a community. (p. 6)

Dee's statement, then, also draws upon inclusive membership within the United States body politic as determinant of the protection that one receives by referring to "*our* Constitution, *our* Freedoms and *our* Civil Liberties (emphasis added)." Condit goes on to explain that certain ideographs such as "rights," "equality," and "democracy," are "self-evidently inclusive. . . . [with] the flexibility to include the entire American audience" (p. 9). As such, bloggers use these ideographs to position themselves as part of that American audience inherently subject to such protection, effectively challenging SB 1070's ability to live up to the various ideologies upon which the nation was founded.

The inclusiveness of the discourse of civil rights is also qualified by the discourse of good citizenship based on "both immigrants and US citizens [who] get positioned as embodying all the characteristics of good cultural citizens and believing in the values of the US" (Chávez, 2010, p. 142). Di (SB #6), for example, asserts, "But I am also an US citizen, work and pay taxes and don't like when I am discriminated against because of my last name, because I have an accent." She uses herself as an example of "good citizen" targeted by SB 1070 despite her economic and cultural contributions to the United States, which are what entitle her to the protection that the nation-state offers, as opposed to a

more inclusive construction of the rights discourse within the conception of the United States as a nation-state.

This qualification becomes significant especially when considering Postgraduado's (SB #7) assertion, "I felt upset and frustrated at the fact that injustices continue happening from all angles of society, and nothing is being done to stop more human abuse from occurring." It is interesting to note that Postgraduado's discourse, in which he refers to "human abuse" switches here from "civil" rights to "human" rights. According to Doxtader (2010),

> Set within the sovereign law of states, the subject of human rights is a subject of indifference, a being already outside and lacking those "inalienable" civil-political rights that qualify them for the protections of human rights. With no place to stand and without a claim to redress that has standing, the figure of the "human being in general" can only abide in the flash of an isolating violence, a wound that defies if not deters words both to and from those who were never "meant" to be addressed or heard in the first place. (p. 356)

Recourse to a discourse of human rights, then, offers a voice and subject position to Postgraduado who, as an undocumented immigrant, lacks one from which to assert a violation of civil rights. He no longer must qualify his claim with evidence of citizenship, good or otherwise. Nonetheless, the ideograph of "justice" remains an important part of his claim that social change is necessary.

Defending Normative Standards of Acceptability

Some bloggers also reproduce an ideological perspective of enforcing normative standards of acceptability to argue against expanded immigration to the United States. This perspective entails a claim that entitles certain people to establish the standards for admission into the nation, thereby keeping out prospective immigrants who do not "fit" the desired image of a U.S. American identity (Hayden, 2010). It functions to justify and

naturalize the exclusionary practices that have historically constructed U.S. immigration

policy. Interestingly, in reproducing this perspective, these bloggers form identification

with dominant groups by assuming the entitlement to determine what those standards are,

distancing themselves from "unworthy" immigrants and prospective immigrants. For

instance, TheOutFabber (Stein #3) writes,

> If these people want their streets to look like India, they should go back home.
> What's the point of being in America if you are going to make New Jersey dirty
> like New Dehli. The immigrants who do not want to assimilate should get the
> f**k out of America!

> This is what is so wrong with the American immigration system. The immigration
> of these unskilled people who immigrate to American on the basis of family
> relations must be stopped. Immigration must be based on merit. Period.

> Same with the Illegals. They are unskilled, and a net fiscal drag. They must be
> deported.

A number of ideas emerge from these statements. First, by comparing New Jersey to a

"dirty" New Delhi, he relies upon notions of American exceptionalism to emphasize the

superiority of the United States over India in terms of its cleanliness, thereby establishing

the need to maintain that superiority through selective standards for immigration. Second,

he implicates a class-based ideology to suggest that the superiority of the United States

stems from its educated population; therefore, the only immigrants who should be

allowed into the United States are those who complement that class of people through

their ability to maintain a high quality of life. Finally, he asserts that undocumented

immigrants are inherently antithetical to that quality of life, a contention that Tenxing

(SB #16) echoes when she states, "Illegals mexicans make a mexico of all of America."

Consequently, normative standards of acceptability are used by some bloggers to

construct themselves as clean, assimilated, middle/upper class, and legal Americans, even

if not white. They are therefore more deserving of status and acceptance within the United States than lower-class and undocumented (potential) immigrants who do not or would not assimilate, resulting in fragmentation within immigrant groups.

Destabilizing Identities

In this section, I explore destabilizing identities as an approach to discursive engagement that offers discourses that develop alternative subjectivities and subject positions from those produced through the matrix of coloniality. The notion of destabilization assumes a starting point of colonizer as subject and colonized as object but also posits that these positions are subject to change. I first consider the destabilization of identities through the disruption of subject and object positions. Yeğenoğlu (1998) explores this in her discussion of the veil, wherein "*the veiled woman can see without being seen*" (p. 43), effectively changing the direction of the gaze. I then look to another form of destabilization, mimicry, which is an alternative, incomplete repetition of the traits and discourse of colonizers. According to Bhabha (1994), mimicry is a destabilizing menace to colonial authority because "in its *double* vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority" (p. 126). In this section, I describe how both sets of bloggers destabilize subject/object relationships in broader immigration discourses. I then explore Stein bloggers' utilization of mimicry through their varied uses of discursive strategies of humor, satire, and irony that destabilize both Stein's as well as a larger colonialist authority over the South Asian subjectivity.

Subject/Object Positions

Both sets of bloggers use the spaces to shift the gaze, as they become subjects in the discourse who then interpret the experiences of an "other" that they construct as their object. This is significant for a number of reasons. First, it allows them to assume a subject position from which they can define their own histories, a location that is significant precisely because of how histories can support and challenge ideological perspectives. Westwell (2011), for example, discusses how the ways in which the Vietnam War has been described have "enabled the U.S. to reclaim faith in its foundational narratives of masculine, military, technological, and political superiority" (p. 415).

As discussed earlier, the discourses of the bloggers highlight hidden histories that are buried in the larger immigration discourse, such as how the colonial history of India and the colonialist histories of the United States and Britain remain implicated in the current immigration scenario. As jagr721 (Stein #1) explains, India's poverty "has a great deal to do with colonialism. . . . [and not with] the inherent stupidity of its people, as Stein claims." Webmaster (SB #8) also describes how "the implementation of NAFTA has caused additional migration" from Mexico to the United States. Bloggers also recount how the U.S. immigration policy has not historically been enforced consistently (Dee's, SB #4). These histories that they define and tell relate a different ideological narrative than the ones that often circulate in mainstream discourse. They consequently function to decenter the grand narratives of the United States as a nation-state with open doors to immigrants and offer a challenge to the coloniality of the First World's epistemic privilege.

Moreover, they emerge from spaces that are contradictions, rather than coincidences, of the geo- and body-politics of knowledge, in which the bloggers' subjective experiences emerge not purely from the physical place of their bodies but from the interstitial spaces that their diasporic subjectivities inhabit. This contradiction is particularly notable in edisongirl's (Stein #1) ambivalence, when she writes,

> Don't get me wrong - I'm thrilled that our people have populated the place. I'm thrilled that Indian culture has become such an important part of American culture - of Jersey culture! But I'm sad that some of the staples in the town I grew up in have been replaced.

She writes from a location that is both insider and outsider. Speaking from this interstitial space affords bloggers with subjectivities that challenge the matrix of coloniality by interpreting "mainstream" subjectivities despite not being purely part of the mainstream. Such subjectivities are perhaps not envisioned by Mignolo's (2009) conceptualization of epistemic privilege, which gives First World "bodies" the exclusive authorization to produce knowledge about both self and other, without considering the complications emerging from global flows. El Random Hero (SB #3) contextualizes the passage of SB 1070 amongst other racist legislation efforts in the United States:

> 63 years ago today, five fathers in Orange County won the final ruling on their case that was fighting the segregation of Mexican and Mexican-American students from attending segregated schools. It was ruled that attending segregated schools was unconstitutional and violated the 14th amendment. Mendez v. Westminster was the landmark ruling that set the stage for Brown v. the Board of Education, which ended segregation in schools. In 1994, Proposition 187, police code for murder, was introduced in California and passed, but was later deemed, again, unconstitutional by the courts. But some how [*sic*] here we are again as Arizona passed Senate Bill 1070.

This not only describes the SB 1070 as one of a number of problematic instances in which racist policies had to be challenged through judicial and legislative processes, but it also sets up this trajectory as a cyclical pattern of racist moves that are always

ultimately challenged and repealed. The bloggers link this historical pattern as predictive

of the inevitable future of SB 1070. Chicano future tense (SB #14) writes, "I'm also fairly

confident that the supreme court will overturn and declare SB1070 illegal and

unconstitutional...which it is.." Bloggers criticize the lack of foresight by those who fail

to learn from history and therefore insist on passing SB 1070 and similar laws. The

bloggers, as subjects, have positioned themselves as "experts" in predicting and

interpreting the responses of SB 1070 supporters and the political and judicial structures.

Because subjects are the ones who are entitled to understand and interpret the

subjectivities of objects, this move challenges the construction of the subject/object

relationship.

A similar approach can be seen amongst some Stein bloggers who explain Stein's

subjectivity. Not only do they, as discussed earlier, discursively reposition Stein by

focusing on his race/ethnicity, history, and also his humanity, to challenge the whiteness

from which he appears to speak, but they also speak directly to his psyche in feigned

displays of benevolent sympathy:

> You know Joel, I understand where you're coming from. No one likes change, whether it's for good or bad. . . .
>
> You can either be fearful of the changes, or you can embrace them. It is your choice. . . . People fear what they don't understand, and I feel that you Joel are a victim of this. You don't have to be scared of Indians or Indian things. (CurryBear, Stein #4)

Samhita (Stein #2) demonstrates a similar interpretive move when she writes,

> There are few things sadder than reading a writer that is so caught up in their own ego, racism and bad writing that they don't even have the foresight to see how poorly their piece has not only come across but will be received.

In these examples, bloggers not only assume subject positions but also assign Stein an object position by construing him according to their own subjective experiences and perspectives. Bloggers in both sets, then, are speaking from the positions of their own subjective histories to critique Stein or SB 1070 and its supporters, thereby destabilizing the subject/object positions.

Mimicry

Some Stein bloggers use the strategy of mimicry in multiple ways to destabilize and disrupt Stein's authority. First, they mimic Stein's claimed use of satire, shifting the gaze of the humor. According to Demo (2000), humor works as a strategy of resistance because it allows an argument to be heard "by providing a unique vantage point from which to see the inaccuracies of a situation" (p. 135). For example, Anna (Stein #1) mimics Stein's blatant use of stereotypes in his humor in the following paragraph:

> Why do you have to be so Indian about everything? Why can't you be dishonest and White, and not change everything, and not take over the businesses where I learned to be a petty thief and…and…stuff? NOTHING SHOULD EVER CHANGE, DAMNIT. IT'S JOEL STEIN'S WORLD AND WE'RE ALL JUST LIVING IN IT.

She not only reiterates the problematic notion of "be[ing] so Indian about everything" but then constructs incongruous stereotypes of whites as "dishonest" and unchanging in order to uphold their superiority. In doing so, she brings attention to the inadequacies of the stereotypes on which Stein relies. According to Carlson (1988),

> Comedy relies on the creation and castigation of a 'clown' to alter consciousness of the social order. . . . The clown embodies all the problems of the social order, but even as s/he is separated from the herd, we recognize a "sense of fundamental kinship," a knowledge that everyone "contains [the clown] within."[5] The clown is not an evil person, although s/he may do evil through ignorance. (p. 312)

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[5] Burke, K. (1969). *A grammar of motives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. 514.

Some in the audience ultimately may even identify with Stein, such as boston_mahesh (Stein #1), who writes, "When I first read Mr. Stein's article, I was amused. His article was hilarious, and to me at least, very UNOFFENSIVE. It was witty, cute, and accurate. We all know exactly what he was talking about." Consequently, the humor that some Stein bloggers employ to critique Stein attempts to minimize the defensiveness of such an audience by constructing Stein, not as evil, but as the clown. For example, CurryBear (Stein #4) tells Stein, "People fear what they don't understand, and I feel that you Joel are a victim of this. You don't have to be scared of Indians or Indian things. Let me explain a few Indian things to you." He then proceeds to humorously describe a series of cultural artifacts that also serve as stereotypes of the Indian culture, such as Bollywood movies:

> Have you ever seen an Indian movie? Check out some of our women. They're hot and they seduce you with songs in the rain. Seriously, white guys get all the Indian bitches these days. If you tried your luck, you could be the chutney pimp of Edison.

By explaining Indian artifacts, CurryBear de-exoticizes them, challenging the "forever foreigner" position, while simultaneously ridiculing Stein as a clown and satirizing his decrial of the influence of Indian culture in Edison.

Christiansen and Hansen (1996) also look at the use of "playful language . . . [that] was deeply ironic and double-voiced" (p. 163) in their analysis of dramatic protests by ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power). Stein bloggers also use a strategy that combines humor and irony to challenge mainstream discourse. For example, CurryBear (Stein #4) sardonically refers to how Manifest Destiny was used to "acquire more land and kill an entire ethnic group of, ironically, Indians. Now that Indians have taken over your childhood town, you can think of this as karma." Prerna Lal (Stein #9) also writes, "Incidentally, Stein, since whites once dubbed the U.S. as 'Indian land,' what's wrong

with flooding the country with immigrants from India?" The irony of these statements again humorously brings attention to the hypocrisy and illogical arguments raised by Stein.

Bloggers also amusingly use exaggerated reclamations of stereotypes as a form of mimicry. Such exaggerations demonstrate the absurdity of unidimensional stereotypes in ways that "expose the incongruity of a normative standard" (Demo, 2000, p. 141) without diminishing them to those stereotypes. For example, Demo (2000) provides the example of the Guerrilla Girls who reclaim the term "girl" and other signifiers of "girlishness" as a form of mimicry. This strategy of exaggerated reclamation is illustrated particularly well by Anna (Stein #1) who writes,

> But first, to really do Mr. Stein justice, I'm going to light some incense, play a "Jai Ho" remix, and nosh on some curry— but daintily! I don't want to stain my exotic silk costume, which I bought in…of all places…Edison. What are the odds, right? Oh, wait…according to TIME magazine, the odds are very good that my Indian garb is from Edison. The whole place is infested with Patels. Did I mention there's a dot on my forehead? I'm a dothead! Wheee! Oh, but I am getting ahead of myself (I am waggling my head as I type that. If you're reading this, switch to an "Apu" voice, would you? Thanks, you're a doll. I mean, you're an Aishwarya!)

Anna engages in stereotypical representations with openness as well as cultural pride. She employs such stereotypes as eating curry, wearing a "dot" on her forehead, listening to music from *Slumdog Millionaire*, and lighting incense in an attempt to reclaim them. They are things that many South Asians might do, but she presents them in a humorously exaggerated manner by claiming to do them all simultaneously while she writes her blog in the middle of night, referencing the stereotypical character "Apu" from *The Simpsons* in the process. In other words, she chooses to engage in those stereotypes on her own

terms, not Stein's. She takes stereotypes akin to those that Stein uses and inflates them to a point where their incongruities are unmistakable.

Finally, another form of humor on which the bloggers rely is that of parodic reversal, which "satirizes a common, hegemonic social practice by reversing gender, race, class, or other roles to illuminate the problematic and socially constructed nature of those roles" (Rockler, 2002, p. 20). Bloggers mimic "white" traditions and stereotypes in an attempt to demonstrate that American mainstream culture is not a pure, culture-less form but one that is on par with marginalized racial and ethnic groups in terms of its subjection to ridicule and satire. Carmack (2011), for instance, examines the rhetorical strategies of the intramural college basketball team the "Fightin' Whities" as an illustration of parodic reversal, wherein Whites are portrayed humorously in a racialized role incongruous to their normalized identities. Stein bloggers use such strategies to mimic American culture. For example, Gautam Jois (Stein #8), submitting to a mainstream call for the assimilation of immigrant communities, mimics what he identifies as the "'wonderfully American' [tradition of] petitioning for redress of one's grievances" by urging his readers to sign a petition against Stein's column. He mocks both the litigiousness of U.S. society, as he recognizes his non-legalistic reappropriation of the verb "petition," as well as the expectation of assimilation. By identifying petitioning as an "American" act in which South Asians can engage, he participates in a Bhabha-esque (1994) form of mimicry that locates the other within the subject:

> What emerges between mimesis and mimicry is a *writing*, a mode of representation, that marginalizes the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model, that power which supposedly makes it imitable. Mimicry *repeats* rather than *re-presents*. (p. 125)

Anna (Stein #1) uses a similar form of mimicry when she challenges the typical silence

of Indian-Americans in the face of insult:

> No more. I'm an American. The residents of Edison have been Americans for
> longer than Stein's had a column. They don't need this. Fuck you if you CAN
> take a "joke." Word. This born-American citizen is over and out. Let the wild
> rumpus begin.

Claiming her "American" identity and assimilation via the stereotype of the obnoxious

American, she mimics American culture and in so doing, creates space for South Asians

to speak out against the mainstream discourse.

According to Bhabha (1994), the strength of mimicry as a destabilizing force is in

its reversal of the gaze that produces a "partial vision of the colonizer's presence" (p.

126), through its ambivalence questioning the colonial authority that produces the

colonialist immigration discourses. This mimicry is seen throughout the strategies of

humor elucidated in this section, varying degrees of ambivalence destabilizing the

colonialist identity. However, such strategies are not without constraints. As Carmack

(2011) writes, "Individuals or groups using . . . the comic frame must be extremely

cognizant of creating a space for social change without critiquing to the point of losing

the audience's understanding" (p. 37). In other words, this form of mimicry is dependent

upon both a speaker and an audience willing to follow its logic as, in fact, mimicry.

Repositioning Identities

Hall (1996a, 1996b) asserts that subjects can rearticulate their identities within

ideological systems, indicating the possibility that they can reposition those identities. In

this section, I explore such repositionings in two ways. First, I focus on the earlier

analysis revolving around the three-part diasporic identity framework to explore the

implications of such repositionings. Second, I explore bloggers' discursive alignments

with other cultural communities as forms of repositionings. Collier (2003) points out that intercultural relationships occur within complex histories and "within institutional and political forces and social norms that are often invisible to groups" (p. 1), including the "omnipresent" (p. 11) ideology of white privilege. Moreover, she speaks to the importance of understanding such factors that enable and constrain such alliances. Consequently, I explore what the alignments in this study accomplish and analyze their implications for discursive engagement.

Diasporic Identity Framework

In earlier chapters, I examined the various ways that bloggers position their identities using a three-part framework of structural, spatio-transhistorical, and intergroup representational positionings. In this section, I extend that analysis to explore the dynamic social implications of the ways in which bloggers engage such positionings. First, the analysis indicates the challenges of transforming *structural positioning*. Much of the bloggers' discourses regarding their structural positioning is descriptive in nature, reflecting both the rigidity of such institutional structures as well as their magnitude. For example, while both sets of bloggers seek to historicize the poverty and low economic status of their home countries within a colonial context to challenge the ways in which they are discussed, the structures themselves are primarily explicated and not contested.

The inherence of the "whiteness" of the nation-state as a structure is challenged, but bloggers appear somewhat resigned to the power of that nation-state to subjugate them as racial others due to "our skin color, our accents, our language" (Manuél, SB #9). That power functions through a colorblind ideology, which promotes a form of multiculturalism that in fact produces white privilege and perpetually (re)produces the

bloggers' subject positions in relation to the state. For example, when Samhita (Stein #1) writes that Stein "suggest[s] that the main malaise of the growing South Asian population in the United States as a series of cultural disruptions, annoyances, badly thought out racial slurs and smelly food," she implicitly points out the existence of white privilege that prevents racial others from ever fully integrating within the state structure. Similarly, SB 1070 bloggers highlight the democratic political structures that fail to consider the needs of the Latino/a population, particularly in passing a law that makes it "ok for police to ask a brown 'illegal' looking man or woman for their papers" (Somfolnalco's, SB #1) all the while knowing that those who are "white" would never be a target of the legislation. In these instances, a colorblind ideology perpetuates the privilege of whiteness that permeates the institutional structures, continually reproducing the subjugated position of the bloggers.

At the same time, the analysis demonstrated the SB 1070 bloggers' attempts to discursively subvert both this structure as well as the ensuing relationship that positions them as outsiders. Whereas bloggers describe how the mainstream discourse justifies the need for SB1070 by positioning Whites as the innocent victims and therefore entitled to react through suspicion, profiling, legislation, enforcement, dismissal, etc., their discourses also reconstruct the local community as the victims of the "terrorist invasion in Arizona-by racists" (Lou, SB #10), thereby possessing the right to fight back. This repositioning destabilizes the subject/object relationship by changing the gaze, but as Yeğenoğlu (1998) argues, to merely reverse the structure "is not sufficient, because reversal in itself does not come to terms with the domination of the first term and it leaves the binary structure unquestioned" (p. 7). In other words, while it does contest the

discourse that positions Latino/a immigrants as outside of the national structure, it does not change the terms of the conversation, leaving the potential of the bloggers' repositioning here questionable at best.

Trans-spatial/historical positioning appears to offer greater opportunities for repositioning precisely because it draws on a dynamic notion of "space" that includes how people's fluidity of movement functions to reconstruct and redefine the space and their identities over time. Both sets of bloggers draw upon immigrants' contributions to the nation as significant to the construction of its cultural space, an argument that Stein bloggers, in particular, bolster by relying on an ideology of the United States as a multicultural nation of immigrants. This also speaks to Biesecker's (1992) explication of Foucauldian agency that theorizes a space of interplay between processes of deferral and discipline; the ideology of triumphal multiculturalism both defers and disciplines the immigrant subject within a historical construction of the nation that calls for assimilation. Within this space, however, bloggers construct themselves as intentionally and deliberately connected to their trans-spatial/historical pasts and as vital members of the community who have transformed it over time in lasting and indelible ways.

As such, in the instances where Stein bloggers redefine their assimilation, or lack thereof, not according to the "dominant narrative" (Anand Sarwate, Stein #7) but according to one they create; they refuse to fit themselves into the preconceived fragments of society, favoring impurity instead. As Lugones (2003) explains,

> When seen from the logic of curdling, the alteration of the impure to unity is seen as fictitious and as an exercise in domination: the impure are rendered uncreative, ascetic, static, realizers of the contents of the modern subject's imagination. Curdling, in contrast, realizes their against-the grain creativity. (p. 133)

Bloggers' recreation of the space specifically as hybrid enables them to embrace the

belongingness of their impure identities:

> Crossing to the Anglo domain only in their terms . . . follows the logic of the split without the terms ever becoming our own; that is the nature of this—if not all— assimilation. So, the resistance and rejection of the culturally split self requires that we declare our communities public space and break the conceptual tie between public space and monoculturally conceived Anglo-only concerns: it requires that the language and conceptual framework of the public become hybrid. (Lugones, 2003, p. 136)

On the other hand, SB 1070 bloggers construct the space in ways that "subject-

if[y]" (Ong, 1996, p. 737) them both within and beyond the nation-state. Looking across

their structural and trans-spatial/historical positionings, their arguments reveal an

acknowledgement that, when constructed purely based on their race, ethnicity, class,

and/or (il)legal status, they are located on the fringes or even outside the nation.

However, this situated experience is precisely what affords them with knowledge that

enables them to enact citizenship in terms of awareness and involvement in contrast to

ignorant and apathetic masses, as illustrated in the following statement:

> Being a Mexican-American, I completely understand there is an immigration problem and immigration reform is an issue that needs to be a priority. I am not agreeing with the methods that have been imposed in the state of Arizona but I do acknowledge the problem and I would be one of the first in line to discuss a solution that would honor not just Americans and Mexicans, but humanity as a whole. (Mexican-American Citizen, SB #8)

This move towards a redefinition of citizenship must be considered carefully. Ong (1996)

argues that

> 'cultural citizenship' . . . refer[s] to the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory. (p. 738)

In other words, while the notion of cultural citizenship makes a significant claim towards belongingness that contests the boundaries of racial naturalization, it is still constrained by the "webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (Ong, p. 738).

This analysis reveals the ongoing struggle and negotiation between SB 1070 bloggers' structural and trans-spatial/historical positionings in a way that is, perhaps, less pronounced for South Asian bloggers precisely due to the different positions from which they begin. Much of the SB 1070 bloggers' claims to belonging revolve precisely around their reclamations of their historical claims to the land, which as Charland (1987) suggests, can open space for new positions from which to speak. This trans-spatial/historical positioning also expands upon Charland's (1987) narrow definition of the tranhistorical subject constituted through a common ancestry, which remains situated in a colonial epistemology of static place that conflates racial and nation-state identities. Identifications with transhistorical experiences are revealed to transcend the limitations of national ancestry to form more complicated subject positions in the context of SB 1070.

Finally, the analysis reveals the complexities of challenging *intergroup representational positionings*. The interpellation of both sets of bloggers by dominant representations is both clear and abundant, as indicated by their explicit references to racial hierarchies and associated stereotypes. While some Stein bloggers attempt to *reclaim* certain stereotypes, much of the bloggers' discourses resort to either a direct negation of such dominant representations or a (re)production of oppositional representations, manifesting Foucault's (1969) assertion that resistance to power relations merely reinforces such power relations. This is particularly apparent with regard to Stein bloggers' discourses about the "model minority" stereotype. Bloggers challenge the

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stereotype extensively, expressing their frustration at the way in which it is consistently

used by the mainstream to make presumptions about South Asian identities, illustrated by

Paro's (Stein #1) comment below:

> Also, I think someone else mentioned how easily it is for 'good' stereotypes to become negative ones; it seems that the discovery that Indians (like other people) can occupy an entire range and class professions, and encompass both smart and less-smart people was shocking enough to write a whole article about. Further proof that all stereotyping is just lame.

Yet, they rely upon the status that the model minority stereotype confers on them to

position themselves as desirable immigrants and to challenge the threat of "taking over,"

reflecting the hegemonic force of the model minority and yellow peril discourses.

Moreover, the model minority stereotype is constraining precisely because South Asians

need to occupy a different subject position in order to be entitled to challenge racism

against them; they must identify with "lower" minority groups to claim discrimination

and/or identify with "higher" dominant groups who are voicing the racism. Either

movement, however, reinforces the model minority, as the bloggers must first be

interpellated into that subject position before they can move to align in either direction.

SB 1070 bloggers use the articulation and disarticulation of race and immigration

to construct their positionings in relation to other groups. They effectively demonstrate

how racial constructions of immigration and "illegality" position them regardless of their

actual status, challenging such constructions both by trying to make them visible and by

alluding to the irrationality of those constructions, as exemplified in the picture of the car

with the words "I'M MEXICAN. PULL ME OVER" (Figure 7) or by South Asian

bloggers reflecting on the absurdity of their treatment based on how "brown" they look.

However, just as in the case of challenging the model minority positioning, contestations

of the negative representations of "illegality" often result in bloggers utilizing strategies

of "normative belonging" (Chávez, 2010, p. 139) to distance themselves from

undocumented immigrants and thus align themselves with higher status dominant groups.

Inter-Community Alliances

Both sets of bloggers compare themselves to other cultural groups, which

functions to give greater validity to their arguments. For SB 1070 bloggers, aligning with

the civil rights movement as well as anti-Semitism co-opts the ideological value of those

movements and attempts to broaden the resources of the anti-SB 1070 effort. It invites

those from other groups to see themselves as interpellated and affected by SB 1070 and

to therefore join the protest. This move is illustrated, for example, by El Random Hero's

(SB #3) statement,

> Blaming immigrants on current social problems has been a tradition of the U.S.
> for centuries and this is the current state of it. 63 years later and laws are still
> created because if you get rid of immigrants, the countries problems will be
> solved.

He discursively identifies all immigrants groups, past and present, as similarly oppressed.

Ultimately, this strategy has the potential to broaden the resources of the movement, as

demonstrated by the complex and dynamic subject constituted through the blogs,

including the interpellation of South Asian (Sepia Mutiny) bloggers. An important

example of this expansion of the movement can be seen in the picture below (Figure 9)

from Prerna Lal's (SB #2) post, which focuses on a person presenting herself as a white

member of the LGBT community who at least broadly identifies with the discrimination

enacted by SB 1070. At the same time, the sign's wording of "LGBT ARE WE NEXT?"

indicates that the LGBT community is white and therefore not targeted by SB 1070. This

suggests a limitation to alliance-building when constructed only through parallel

oppression rather than through intersecting oppression.

Figure 9. Yay for intersectionalities. That's all. (Credit: Frankie Moreno)

Stein bloggers also seek alignment with other groups but with varying results. As

discussed earlier, the discourse of the model minority preserves the social order because

it constructs South Asians as unentitled to complain about their societal position, always

compared to "lower status" minority groups who are faced with much more pressing

problems. Stein bloggers frequently align themselves discursively with other minority

communities that are positioned "lower" than they are in the racial hierarchy, which can

increase the validity of their claims to offense at Stein's column. This strategy is again

illustrated in V Malik's (Stein #4) statement, "Joel Steins article could be re-written,

about Jews or Mormons or even the Amish, and that would certainly be found very

obnoxious, if not terribly unacceptable." Sanjay (Stein #6) also writes, "[W]hat if he

replaced 'dot heads' with 'nigger' and 'Indians' with 'Blacks.' He would have thought twice

before taking satire as far as it went. And THATS why I am mad." This strategy largely

echoes that which was used in the 1970s wherein South Asians in the United States

distanced themselves from whites in order to claim protection from discrimination, discussed above in Chapter 3.

However, the historical location of South Asians highlights the challenges around the agentic potential of such a move. At one level, such a move aligning with other marginalized groups positioned as minorities, appears to challenge the ways in which they are being interpellated into model minority locations and contest the ways that South Asians are pawns in a broader social and structural system. It alters the relationality by rejecting their stratification over "collective blacks" in order to construct an expanded and unified minority community with a shared interest in civil discourse and multiculturalism. Moreover, it rejects the hegemonic alliance with whites that their silence maintains, by serving as a buffer group to contribute to the impression of racial mobility, also discussed in Chapter 3. However, upon deeper analysis, aligning with other marginalized groups reinforces the model minority positioning of South Asians in that they make a "choice" towards this alignment in a moment that supports their interests. In other words, the genuineness and endurance of this alignment is questionable, at best, with challenging implications for effective alliances.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated a broad range of social implications, highlighting factors that both enable and constrain bloggers in terms of engaging, challenging, and contesting the larger immigration discourses to which they respond. I analyzed how bloggers' discourses functioned to destabilize identities by shifting the gaze and using mimicry while struggling to reposition their identities in the context of the diasporic identity framework. I looked at the ways in which bloggers constructed, (re)produced,

and contested multiple ideological discourses in their constructions of U.S. immigration discourse. I also considered how bloggers' constructions of racism in the context of intent and its material consequences both reproduce and challenge racist structures and discourses. These areas of analysis reflect how the illusion of freedom operates in both sets of blogs to define the subject; but, to varying degrees, multivocality is apparent and agentic potential cannot be altogether dismissed due to the struggles and contestations seen in the blog spaces and the possibilities of those discourses extending beyond the spaces of the blogs. In conclusion, this chapter demonstrates how the interpellation of predefined subject positions constrains agency and reproduces dominant discourses but that moments of challenges and contestation can also be located.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Review of Study

In this dissertation, I consider the ways in which bloggers engage immigration discourses into which they are interpellated. This project is based on three major theoretical premises. The first is that the matrix of coloniality can and should be challenged by locating alternate voices of members of diasporic communities. As the focus of postcolonial theory has shifted from territorial colonization to the critique of epistemological assumptions, scholars have called for the epistemic decentering of grand narratives based in epistemic privilege. By refocusing on the voices of marginalized groups and problematizing the ways in which they are produced into, reproduce and contest their marginalization, I open up the possibilities of better understanding how members of these groups create knowledge that emerges from the interstitial spaces in which they are located.

The second theoretical premise is that the emerging intersection between rhetorical theorizing and cultural studies theorizing offers a way to move from critiquing dominant and institutionally produced discourses to analyzing vernacular discourse found in alternative texts, in order to better understand the functioning of ideological struggle and other discursive strategies that implicate some level of human agency in discursive engagement. I outlined the trajectory of cultural studies literature in light of greater recognition of ideological struggle, resistance, and agency. Moreover, I argued that critical to this move is looking at how subjectivities emerge through discourse, including how collective subjects are constituted as a consequence of the complex articulations of their subject positions.

Finally, the third theoretical premise is that while U.S. immigration discourse subjugates multiple immigrant communities and thus warrants study, there is also a need to expand scholars' attention to ways that members of immigrant groups contribute to and affect the discourses that position them, along the lines of Anguiano and Chávez (2011). I discussed the ways that immigration discourse has problematically constructed the United States as a site of exceptionalism while simultaneously being a source of racial naturalization that has affected the experiences, abilities to travel and work, and positionings of immigrant communities in the United States. I also described the historical context of both (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants and South Asian immigrants in the United States, speaking to how the former have been constructed as racially and politically abject while the latter have been constructed as the model minority. Therefore, this project attempts to explore how the self-representations of (undocumented) Latino/a immigrants and South Asian immigrants construct their subject positions and engage immigration discourses.

In order to locate discursive engagement by members of immigrant groups, I examined weblogs written by them in response to the enactment of SB 1070 and to Stein's column in *TIME Magazine* about the South Asian community in Edison, New Jersey. I found the blogs through a Google blog search and subsequent "virtual snowball sampling" method. For my data analysis, I drew from Fairclough's approach critical discourse analysis for three main reasons. First, its philosophical assumptions allow for the analysis of subject positions and subjectivities that emerge through discourse. Second, it allows for and even emphasizes the possibilities of changes in discourse. Third, it includes the analysis of social and discursive practices, providing a methodological tool

for analyzing the relationship between them. I also incorporated cluster criticism to map out the discourses of the blogs and then relied on a series of questions posed by Fairclough to further analyze the clusters that I created.

My analysis revolved around 3 research questions: (1) How do South Asian bloggers constitute a collective subject in the context of Stein's column? (2) How do Latino/a, undocumented, and other immigrant bloggers constitute a collective subject in the context of the passing of SB 1070? (3) What are the social practice implications of the two sets of blog discourses in terms of discursive engagement? In the following sections, I summarize my findings from the two sets of blogs.

Summary Discussion: Stein Bloggers

Stein bloggers address five major themes in their blogs. The first theme is around immigration and immigrants, which bloggers discuss in the context of change, legislative policies, evaluations of desirability, and how South Asians fit into the U.S. immigration framework. The second theme focuses more specifically on the nature of the South Asian/Indian community in the United States, including their significance and contributions to the United States as well as their personal experiences in the nation. In the third theme, bloggers talk about their views of the United States and Edison, NJ, such as the ways they have changed and the ensuing quality of life in relation to immigration. The bloggers' fourth theme revolves around issues of race, racism, and/or humor/satire, including the nature of racism and the relationship between racism and racial humor/satire. The final theme identified relates to Stein and *TIME Magazine*, as bloggers highlight what they like or dislike about the column, discuss Stein's identity, and deliberate on potential reactions and responses to the column.

Stein bloggers constitute a collective subject by using specific language that connotes membership and belonging with each other as Indians and as South Asians. Their ontological status as a collective is also indicated through references to the blogging community both within particular blog sites and across many of the blog sites. This collective is then bolstered by a construction of white U.S. Americans as racist and hypocritical, with Stein being a part of this negative Other. Discursive practices in terms of the ways that bloggers address their audience(s) also highlight the difference between those who belong to the collective community and those who do not.

In order to analyze the subject positions that help construct the boundaries of this collective subject, I used the diasporic identity framework I presented in Chapter 2. Stein bloggers construct their *structural positioning* as being excluded from a white national structure, as a result of which they face structural barriers and are viewed as an intrusion upon this structure. They also construct themselves in relation to a racialized economic structure that has victimized India through colonial and colonialist economic policies and extends to the status of South Asians in the United States. However, many of the bloggers distance themselves from lower class South Asian immigrants in the United States or try to overcome this structural positioning by emphasizing the economic contributions of South Asian immigrants to the United States.

Stein bloggers construct their *trans-spatial/historical positioning* by connecting to their South Asian and U.S. cultures. They also make claims to belongingness in the United States by constructing it spatially and historically as a multicultural land of immigrants that they have culturally contributed to building. They reject a perceived mandate of assimilation and instead construct their integrated identities as a part of the

U.S. American hybrid space. There are also indications that some bloggers struggle with the negotiation of this trans-spatial/historical location due to the complexities of their identities and the spaces from which they speak. Finally, Stein bloggers construct their *intergroup representational positionings* primarily in relation to the model minority stereotype. While their discourses reveal their interpellation by this representation, many bloggers reproduce it by either asserting their accomplishments, thereby aligning with the dominant white group, or by proclaiming the need to not react to the Stein column and thereby distancing themselves from "lower status" minority groups. Others contest the model minority representation by asserting their right to complain about poor treatment and then creating space to do so by asserting their economic status, aligning themselves with "lower status" minority groups, or drawing upon "American" cultural norms.

Summary Discussion: SB 1070 Bloggers

SB 1070 bloggers address five major themes in their blogs. The first, not surprisingly, focuses directly on SB 1070, as bloggers explain it and its effects on people and communities in the United States, discuss the reasonableness of its expectation that people carry proof of their legal status, and offer their opinions about Arizona resulting from the enactment of SB 1070. The second theme relates to ("illegal") immigrants/immigration, Latino/as, and Mexicans, in which they connect ("illegal") immigration to Mexicans and Latino/as and discuss immigration as a legal issue and in terms of the national immigration debate. The third theme revolves around racism and racial profiling, wherein bloggers talk about how SB 1070 would lead to unequal treatment of people based on their racial appearances. The fourth theme focuses on bloggers' views of the United States and Arizona, including the political factions and the

people that comprise them as well as some ambivalence around the values that the United States and Arizona espouse and enact. Finally, the last theme addresses the function of police with regard to immigration, with bloggers also talking about their general perceptions of police.

SB 1070 bloggers constitute a collective subject by using specific language that creates identification between undocumented immigrants and a broader Latino/a immigrant community. South Asian bloggers become a part of this community through their interpellation by SB 1070 and racial identification as "brown." Bloggers also expand this community through the inclusion of their readers and other community members as part of the imagined online community. Finally, bloggers construct themselves in opposition to a negative Other consisting of mainstream white Americans and institutional personae who comprise the "opponent" in the struggle against SB 1070.

In order to analyze the subject positions that help construct the boundaries of this collective subject, I again used the diasporic identity framework I presented in Chapter 2. SB 1070 bloggers construct their *structural identity positioning* in relation to a white national power structure that otherizes minority immigrant groups through suspicion and racial profiling, resulting in their alien citizenship and abject positioning in relation to the national structure. They also construct their subject positions in relation to political and judicial institutions that comprise the state and make decisions about and on behalf of the bloggers, who are again positioned externally to the structures and therefore subjugated by them. Lastly, they construct a hierarchical economic structure that exploits their home countries and restricts immigrants to denigrated manual labor while simultaneously relying on that labor for its maintenance.

SB 1070 bloggers construct their *trans-spatial/historical positioning* in relation to their historical and ancestral claims to American land as well as their connections and contributions to U.S. culture and community. They claim belongingness through their constructions of the cultural space in which they exist, which they attribute to their mobilization and activism as forms of cultural citizenship. SB 1070 bloggers construct their *intergroup representational positioning* in relation to negative representations of undocumented immigrants that are linked to status, race, class, and culture. Some bloggers reproduce these representations while others contest them through claims of family values, civic responsibility, and nonthreatening behavior. They also (re)produce a hierarchy of white/black citizens over brown-skinned citizens and "legal" immigrants over "illegal" immigrants. Finally, SB 1070 bloggers also *reposition* their identities by constructing white people, who are normally deemed a part of the national structure, as the outsiders, immigrants, and a threat to the nation as racists and terrorists.

Summary Discussion: Social Practice Implications of Discursive Engagement

I examined the social practice implications of the two sets of blogs in the following five areas: (1) collective subjectivity, agency, and the illusion of freedom; (2) constructing/countering discourses of racism; (3) constructions of U.S. immigration discourse; (4) destabilizing identities; and (5) repositioning identities.

Collective Subjectivity, Agency, and the Illusion of Freedom

The illusion of freedom, as proposed by Charland (1987), considers how the text predetermines the position of the collective subject. Amongst the Stein bloggers, the space constructs a dominant position in relation to a call for action by a united community to challenge Stein's column through boycotts and sending messages to Stein

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and/or *TIME Magazine*. In general, the blogs are a space for expressing positions oppositional to Stein and for validating each other's outrage at his column. However, the space also allows for some dissent by bloggers who find Stein's column funny or, not racist. However, such voices constitute a marked minority within the collective and are often addressed as outsiders or outsiders-within, creating a hierarchical dynamic within the blog space.

Amongst the SB 1070 bloggers, there is also a dominant position based in calls for mobilization towards immigration reform and support for each other's sentiments against SB 1070. The space functions on the presumption that members of the collective subject share that perspective while those dissenting are not a part of that collective. At the same time, my analysis revealed multiple reasons for opposing SB 1070 within the collective, sometimes differing between those interpellated by their undocumented status, who tend to criticize the law's overt targeting of undocumented immigrants, and those interpellated by their racial identities, who tend to focus on the law's indirect targeting of racial minorities. The divergence and convergence of these rationales indicate the inchoateness of the boundaries of the collective as well as the intersectionality of race and legal status.

I also extended the notions of the illusion of freedom and agency to how these are implicated specifically in relation to blog spaces given the confinement of the voices to those spaces and therefore to those already within the collective. However, in light of theoretical understandings of ideological struggle, I argued that discursive engagement could still be examined in relation to agency as a process insofar as the blogs offer discursive space with the potential of being heard. Such potential is indicated in the

blogs, for example, by calls for action and the validation of arguments that, having received some initial level of endorsement, could extend beyond the spaces of the blogs in the future.

Constructing/Countering Discourses of Racism

Bloggers' discourses reveal a struggle around notions of racism that is then implicated in their engagement of the texts. Some Stein bloggers reproduce dominant strategies of justifying racism based on its "truth" value and deny racism based on evaluations of the speaker's "non-racist" and humorist intentions. Other bloggers reject the relevance of intention in light of the fact that racism was produced within the column, some accompanied by qualifications of their responses as reasonable and logical. Both Stein bloggers' as well as SB 1070 bloggers' attention to the material consequences of the racist discourses they engage is indicative of their views of the inadequacy of intention-denial. In particular, SB 1070 bloggers do not consider intent as relevant to their arguments around the racism of SB 1070. Instead, their rearticulations of immigration as inextricably linked with race, constitute an implicit rejection of the relevance of intent in addressing the racism that SB 1070 produces. Such moves help demonstrate bloggers' entitlement to engage and contest the discourses.

Constructions of U.S. Immigration Discourse

I focused on four overarching ideological frameworks that bloggers rely on in their constructions of immigration discourse: (a) constructing/countering triumphal multiculturalism; (b) reproducing American Dream mythology; (c) advocating for entitlement to rights; and (d) defending normative standards of acceptability. *Triumphal multiculturalism*, which refers to the idea that multicultural diversity is a glorious

accomplishment of the United States, is reproduced by many Stein bloggers to justify continued South Asian immigration to the United States. However, other bloggers from both sets of blogs contest this ideological perspective by focusing on the U.S. imperialist history and the ensuing power dynamics that affect its diversity. The framework of the *American Dream*, which suggests that anyone who works hard can achieve success in the United States, is also reproduced by both sets of bloggers to describe the immigrant experience and, again, justifies continued immigration to the United States so that people can strive for the American Dream. Although bloggers do point out structural barriers that inhibit the accomplishment of the American Dream, their discourses also reveal the notion that the successful removal of such structural barriers leaves the American Dream intact.

The discourse of *rights* is called upon by bloggers as a foundation of the United States; therefore, SB 1070 bloggers call upon their membership in the U.S. polity as "good citizens" to claim authoritative protection of their civil rights and call for the repeal of SB 1070. However, self-identified undocumented immigrant bloggers, lacking membership to that U.S. polity, call upon the protection of their human rights instead. Finally, some bloggers rely on an ideology in which they *defend normative standards of acceptability* to argue against an expansive notion of immigration and in favor of restricted immigration, revealing their identification with a power structure entitled to determine the desirability of immigrants and the hierarchical fragmentation within immigrant groups.

Destabilizing Identities

Destabilization of identities is an approach to discursive engagement that considers the production of alternate subjectivities and subject positions. Bloggers from both sets destabilize the subject/object relationship by shifting the gaze so that they can define their own histories, uncovering hidden colonial and colonialist histories, speaking from interstitial spaces that belie the coincidence of geo- and body-politics of knowledge, and challenging epistemic privilege by interpreting "mainstream" subjectivities based on their own subjective experiences.

Stein bloggers also use a strategy of mimicry to destabilize identities. They mimic Stein's use of satire and stereotypes and ridicule him as a clown. They also combine humor and irony to point out the hypocrisy of Stein's statements and reclaim stereotypes through humorous exaggerations. Lastly, they use a form of parodic reversal to mimic U.S. American culture in order to broaden their discursive space.

Repositioning Identities

I looked at ways that bloggers reposition their identities through the *diasporic identity framework.* I found that bloggers' discourses reveal few possibilities of repositioning in relation to institutional structures due to the rigidity and magnitude of such structures as well as the ideologies that produce such institutions and the derivative subject positions. Legal status, race, ethnicity, and class function as intersecting oppressions (Collins, 2000) that compound the subjugation of diasporic communities. SB 1070 bloggers do contest their structural positioning by subverting the construction of who belongs within and without the national structure, but they maintain the binary of the structure in the process. On the other hand, greater possibilities of repositioning are

indicated around bloggers' trans-spatial/historical locations. Stein bloggers construct the space through notions of multiculturalism and hybridity within which their impure identities belong. SB 1070 bloggers, on the other hand, construct their belonging through notions of cultural citizenship that contest their racial naturalization, while reinscribing their national membership, and through making historical claims to the land. Finally, with regard to bloggers' intergroup representational positionings, Stein bloggers reclaim some stereotypes but particularly focus on challenging as well as reproducing the model minority stereotype. Both sets of bloggers' discourses reveal alignments that they construct with other communities to increase the validity of their arguments and potentially increase the overall resources of their movements. However, for South Asians, such challenges invariably reinforce their model minority positioning, demonstrating its constraining force. SB 1070 bloggers articulate race and immigration to contest the resultant representations and open spaces for intercommunity alliances, but many bloggers also rely on strategies of normative belonging to distance themselves from representations associated with "illegality."

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

Constitutive Rhetoric, Agency, and the Diasporic Identity Framework

This study extends the theory of constitutive rhetoric in multiple ways. First, it looks at how collective subjects are constituted beyond a national identity and specifically within the context of blogging communities. Their subjectivities within these communities stem from identity markers, from their identifications that connect them to various categorizations and spaces as well as to each other, and from ideological commonalities in relation to specific political events. This recognition moves beyond

arbitrary, static assumptions that solely national or ethnic identities drive either their

ontologies or their ensuing discursive moves in relation to immigration discourse. It

nurtures a broadened understanding of diaspora that considers the complex subjectivities

of those who are implicated by the global flow of people in the context of the

postcolonial condition (Appadurai, 2003; Bardhan, 2011; Basch, Schiller, and Blanc,

1994; Cho, 2007; Stephen, 2007). By considering the constitution of collective subjects

through multiple levels of interpellation, the notion of constitutive rhetoric in this study

posits the construction of an ontological status that functions through the coming together

of numerous points of identification, including racial, ethnic, ideological, and blogging

communities. For example, despite different "national" identifications, Latino/a and

South Asian bloggers were racially and ideologically interpellated by SB 1070 into a

collective subject.

　　　While constitutive rhetoric posits that freedom is illusory due to the

predetermined nature of the subject that it constitutes, this study reveals a more nuanced

understanding wherein the subject is defined but not predetermined by the collective.

Rather, subjects act within the context of a dialectic between agency and their

interpellated subjectivities. The operation of a hierarchical dynamic within the blogging

communities gives preference to certain subject positions; however, oppositional and

multifaceted voices are engaged, creating discursive space for voices to try out civil

discourse, mobilize validate arguments, and thus increase the potential for interaction

beyond the space of the blogs. By considering weblogs as a discursive form and focusing

on the multiple levels of interpellation therein, this study demonstrates the fluidity of the

boundaries of the collective subject in imagined online communities, raising important

questions about the possibilities for agency therein. This analysis therefore builds upon

posthumanist notions that agency is highly constrained but is also complexly linked to

form and performativity (Campbell, 2005; Enck-Wanzer, 2011).

Constitutive rhetoric is said "to exist at the nodal point of a series of

identifications and to be captured in its structure and in its production of meaning"

(Charland, 1987, p. 143). To make sense of how "a series of identifications" comes

together "at the nodal point," Charland describes the ideological effect of the

transhistorical subject based in a common ancestry. This study broadens the

understanding of how various identity positionings are discursively constructed and

negotiated to constitute the collective subject. A major contribution of this study is that it

draws upon a variety of theoretical concepts to conceptualize a three-part diasporic

identity framework specifically for analyzing how members of immigrant communities

construct their identities. Although this framework aids in the understanding of how these

various identity positions come together to constitute an ontological status of a collective

subject, it does not presume homogeneity and does allow for the analysis of

heterogeneous voices and fragmentation within the communities. The framework

establishes a unique starting point for the analysis of identities with the collective subject

as interpellated in relation to specific public discursive events, emphasizing that

identifications are discursively produced (Hall, 1997; Sarup, 1996), shifting and unstable

(Hall, 1993), and can emerge in relation to and intersect with political itineraries (Collier,

2005; Drzewiecka, 2002).

More importantly, this framework helps elucidate enabling and constraining

contextual factors for members of diasporic communities to (re)position their own

identities (Hall, 1993, 1996a, 1996b), further elucidating the relationship between identity politics and agency (Enck-Wanzer, 2011). For example, it highlights the constraining force of their structural positioning while delineating greater potential overall around trans-spatial/historical positionings specifically due to the theoretical shift in the approach to identities from place to space. Consequently, trans-spatial/historical positionings emerge from and are constructed within the interstitial locations of bloggers as members of diasporic communities with subjectivities tied to multiple temporal and geographical locations. At the same time, intergroup representational positionings reveal the fragmentation and hierarchies both within groups and across groups that bloggers struggle to overcome. For example, the analysis demonstrates the difficulties overcoming the positioning accomplished through the model minority representation, cutting across all three legs of framework.

Postcolonial Theory

This study draws upon postcolonial theory by considering ways in which alternative subjectivities are being produced through the blog discourses and demonstrating the nonterritorality of contemporary colonialism and the ongoing epistemological nature of the matrix of coloniality that needs to be contested. Influenced throughout this study by Shome's description of space (2003) as "a product of relations that are themselves active and constantly changing material practices through which it [space] comes into being" (p. 41), I foregrounded voices that emerge from multiple levels of interpellation, speak from multiple and varied positionalities, and therefore transpire within interstitial spaces of the geographical context of the First World. When bloggers destabilize postcolonial identities (Bhabha, 1994; Yeğenoğlu, 1998) by emphasizing their

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own subjective histories to contest and interpret mainstream subjectivities, they shift the gaze and subvert the positionalities of subject and object. In doing so, they challenge assumptions about universal knowledge that derive from the privilege of the geo-politics of knowledge, and they challenge the coincidence of geo- and body-politics of knowledge that entitles those of the First World to produce knowledge about both self and other. Therefore, the bloggers' posts are potential indicators of epistemic delinking (Mignolo, 2009).

While strategies and approaches to the destabilization of identities have been presented and discussed in postcolonial scholarship (Bhabha, 1994; Lugones, 2003; Yeğenoğlu, 1998), this study offers specific instances of destabilizing identities, both as discussed above and as mimicry (Bhabha, 1994; Demo, 2000) through satire, humor, and parodic reversal. Finally, it presents and complicates notions of hybridity as having agentic potential in the ways in which subjects position their identities. Criticism of hybridity arises around its overly simplistic construction of the coming together of pure identities, which does in fact follow dominant logics (Shome & Hegde, 2002b). To the contrary, I borrow from Lugones' (2003) conceptualization of impure identities curdling within hybrid spaces to destabilize identities. In other words, the hybridizing is not of reified identities marked by fragmentation but of the spaces constructed and constantly transforming through material practices, in relation to which identities are positioned and constructed, offering greater challenge to standard notions of cultural adaptation and assimilation.

Cultural Studies Theory

Finally, this study draws upon and extends cultural studies in its examination of ideology and discourse in exploring the complexities of discursive engagement. It extends cultural studies by intersecting it with the study of vernacular discourse (Ono and Sloop, 1995) that has emerged within the trajectory of critical rhetoric and been used to study immigration discourses (Anguiano & Chávez, 2011; Hasian & Delgado, 1998; Holling, 2006; Ono & Sloop, 2002). By moving towards vernacular discourse, this study demonstrates how applying theoretical concepts and perspectives from cultural studies to texts produced by nondominant groups can allow for greater theorization about their discursive engagement as a dialectic between agency and their interpellated subjectivities. More specifically, it distinctively allows for the exploration of nondominant, and in this case diasporic, subjectivities as (re)produced and contested within these discourses.

Earlier, I suggested that Hall's (1977, 1985) focus on competing ideologies within a discursive field could be reconciled with Foucault's (1978) dismissal of ideology altogether in favor of the operation of power/resistance within and through discourse. My analysis reveals ways that power operates throughout the discourse to construct and position the subjects. Ideological discourses such as the American Dream, triumphal multiculturalism, claims to rights, and defending normative standards of acceptability to the nation are reproduced throughout bloggers' discourses. These discourses function in conjunction with each other to construct a discourse of U.S. immigration and reproduce a variety of status hierarchies, including elements of Bonilla-Silva's (2004) tri-racial structure, class-based hierarchies, and immigration status. In addition, by using discursive

strategies that legitimate and justify the production of racist discourses, many bloggers reproduce their subjugated status. Efforts by bloggers to move within these structures often serve to reinforce the very structures and consequently their positions therein, as indicated by bloggers' constructions of themselves as upright and deserving citizens or residents of the United States entitled to make the aforementioned ideological claims.

However, findings in this study also document a contested and contradictory ideological field through which bloggers construct immigration discourse from their subjective perspectives and experiences. Even while bloggers were produced and interpellated into subject positions, possible strategies and moments of agentic potential can and were located throughout this study. For example, findings revealed how Biesecker's (1992) notion of Foucauldian agency contributes to the possibility of bloggers acting upon the ideological discourse of triumphal multiculturalism to construct a hybrid space even as the discourse functions to define them as subjugated immigrants. Bloggers also contest triumphal multiculturalism by drawing on U.S. colonialist history and highlighting the opposition of foundational U.S. immigration to its "triumphal" values. Moreover, they counter dominant notions of racism that focus on intent, refocusing the discourse on its production and material consequences. Despite the absence of new, "resistant" ideologies, profound ruptures, or overt social and structural change, this study demonstrates the potentialities of discursive engagement.

Critical Discourse Analysis of Weblogs

Although CDA remains tied primarily to the analysis of institutional texts, this study demonstrates its value in studying discursive engagement in the context of noninstitutional texts as well as the value of studying weblogs as text. Because these

blogs also serve as a safe space in which the discourses may emerge more naturally than perhaps in other sites such as comments to mainstream online publications, the discourses prove to be both highly participatory and unpredictable. The breadth of the bloggers lifted geographical limitations to the research, while the discourses emerged through varied strands of thought and interaction amongst the bloggers (Howard 2008a, 2008b) that engaged contemporaneous discursive events (Stephen, 2007). Using CDA to analyze the discourses at multiple levels helped revealed how members of immigrant communities construct their own subjectivities, the relationships between the bloggers' discourses and larger societal structures pertaining to U.S. immigration, and moments of struggle, contestation, and interdiscursivity.

This study is also methodologically unique in its incorporation of cluster criticism into Fairclough's (1992, 1995) approach to CDA, consistent with my argument that this project emerges at the intersection of cultural and rhetorical studies. Fairclough calls for the analysis of discourse at the level of text, discursive practice, and social practice but offers little in terms of a methodological tool for analysis at the textual level; therefore, cluster criticism offered an instrument for mapping out the discourses within the blog texts. On the other hand, cluster criticism lacks a specific strategy for examining the text in relation to the larger discursive and social contexts in which it is produced, while Fairclough provides questions to guide such analysis. Consequently, the two approaches complemented each other well, and my methodology guided me to first map out the discourses of the texts through cluster analysis before proceeding to the next step of locating themes to analyze in relation to discursive and social practices. As such, this

study offers a methodological challenge to a common criticism of critical scholarship that scholars enter a text knowing what is to be found.

Strengths and Limitations

A strength of this study is that it uses a unique approach to studying immigration discourses by looking at how members of two distinct yet overlapping immigrant communities engage with mainstream discourses that position them in particular ways. Looking across these two immigrant communities that bear commonalities and differentiation reveals the nuanced interactions between their different positionings and how they discursively engage, (re)produce, challenge, and contest those positionings. However, the comparison between the two immigrant communities is an incomplete one. First, the context of each discursive "event" was extremely different from the other, which precluded a more cohesive comparison from being made. Admittedly, the nature of SB 1070 is distinct from the nature of Stein's column in *TIME Magazine*. Moreover, the attributes of the blogs and comments from each set of bloggers were different in length as well as numbers of participants. Ultimately, the analysis in this project was limited by the data that I was able to find.

The richness of weblogs as texts for analysis was both a strength and limitation of this project. On the one hand, this study reveals the usefulness of studying weblogs as a discursive form. The blogs provides valuable data in terms of containing immediate responses to the discursive events as well as complex and direct interactions within a self-constructed community, ideal for analysis of the constitution of a collective community and subjectivities therein. Such analysis may have proved challenging with other discursive forms. At the same time, this project was limited in terms of the extent of its

analysis of the blogs. The time periods selected for analysis were relatively short; blogs in response to Stein's column largely ended within a few days, and blogs in response to SB 1070 provided sufficient data for the scope of this project within a few months. Consequently, significant changes in responses over time were relegated to beyond the scope of this project. The greater presence of comments within Stein blogs also provided greater richness in terms of argumentation and interaction amongst the bloggers than within the SB 1070 blogs. Moreover, the nature of blog discourse still mandates greater analysis of how specific strands of thought were in fact developed, reiterated, and/or dropped by the commenters than was within the scope of this project.

Finally, another strength of this project is the "both/and" approach that it takes to understand agency and interpellated subjectivity. This constructs the two in dialectical relationship to each other (see Gunn & Cloud, 2010). Further, this approach was substantiated by analyze vernacular discourse to find both interpellated subjectivities and agentic moves in the construction of diasporic community and subjectivities. However, this project's scope, in terms of two sets of texts in relation to two discursive events, limited the possibilities of locating structural indicators of discursive transformation. Ultimately, this project makes apparent the larger problem that, although moments of agentic potential do exist, they are epistemologically foreclosed by more traditional cultural studies research that has often ignored the production of discourse by subjugated communities. Hence, although the broader effects of these agentic moments cannot be pinpointed through a single study such as this one, it does call for more research along these lines to bring them to the fore.

Future Research

This project offers a new complex and multidimensional framework from which to understand the constitution of an ontological status as a diasporic collective within the discursive space of weblogs through multiple points of identification. An important foundation of this project is that collective subjects and the complex identifications therein emerge in relation to specific political contexts. Consequently, future research can extend the theoretical project of analyzing the discursive engagement of diasporic communities in multiple ways by taking into account different contexts. I applied this framework to analyze South Asian and (undocumented) Latino/a communities' discursive engagement with Stein's column in *TIME Magazine* and SB 1070. Therefore, future research can apply this framework to other diasporic communities, such as Islamic and African communities who also face subjugation and ensuing challenges in the United States, in order to extend our understanding of their subjectivities as they emerge from and relate to larger discursive structures.

Such research would help reveal the nuances of discursive engagement in relation to the specific and distinct positionings of various diasporic communities. For example, insofar as mimicry is tied to humor, satire, and parody, it is important to note that such a strategy was only prominent amongst the Stein bloggers, not the SB 1070 bloggers. In great part, this disparity relates to the differences in context of the two discursive events to which the sets of bloggers are responding. It may also be indicative about higher intergroup positioning, in general, of the Stein bloggers that enables their usage of a seemingly lighthearted strategy, highlighting the need for greater exploration of the constraints to this approach. On the other hand, SB 1070 bloggers presented a more

detailed exploration of their structural positioning, perhaps indicative of how their identities are fundamentally defined in relation to structures. As such, their discourses also revealed an attempt to completely subvert this structure, whereas Stein bloggers mostly tried to reposition themselves within the existing structure. Consequently, analyzing how different diasporic communities utilize distinct strategies to engage and challenge the discourses can lead to a better understanding of the framework.

Future research can also benefit by applying this framework to consider how these same communities engage broader immigration discourses both in the context of the same discursive events analyzed in this project over longer periods of time as well as in the context of distinct discursive events. As mentioned earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court is hearing arguments about SB 1070 at the time of this writing and other states have since passed legislation similar to (and harsher than) SB 1070, sadly offering opportunities to explore how diasporic communities interpellated by such laws continue to respond to the discourse around them. Such research would additional dimensions to the notion of discursive engagement by looking at it over longer periods of time and in different political contexts, further complicating and enriching our understanding of their subjectivities, a crucial task towards epistemic delinking, challenging the matrix of coloniality, and even potentially contesting such legislation.

Conclusion

This project uses and extends critical discourse analysis, combining it with cluster criticism, to analyze the discourses of South Asian and (undocumented) Latino/a bloggers in response to Stein's column in *TIME Magazine* and to SB 1070. It links ontology and epistemology, arguing for the examination of texts produced by members of diasporic

communities in order to understand their perspectives that have largely been foreclosed in

traditional cultural studies research. It also develops and articulates a new analytical

framework for analyzing the constitution of collective subjectivities and the construction

and positioning of diasporic identities. Finally, it offers a way of studying the dialectic

between agency and the interpellated subject by looking at how the larger social order is

reproduced and contested through these discourses as well as how bloggers construct

their own subjectivities, including through repositioning and destabilizing their identities.

This project ultimately emerged from and lives in the interstitial spaces that we construct

and we inhabit that are incomplete, shifting, complex, and that we are still trying to

understand.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ARIZONA SENATE BILL 1070

Senate Engrossed
State of Arizona
Senate
Forty-ninth Legislature
Second Regular Session
2010
SENATE BILL 1070
AN ACT
AMENDING TITLE 11, CHAPTER 7, ARIZONA REVISED STATUTES, BY ADDING ARTICLE 8;
AMENDING TITLE 13, CHAPTER 15, ARIZONA REVISED STATUTES, BY ADDING SECTION 13-1509; AMENDING SECTION 13-2319, ARIZONA REVISED STATUTES; AMENDING TITLE 13, CHAPTER 29, ARIZONA REVISED STATUTES, BY ADDING SECTIONS 13-2928 AND 13-2929; AMENDING SECTIONS 23-212, 23-212.01, 23-214 AND 28-3511, ARIZONA REVISED STATUTES; AMENDING TITLE 41, CHAPTER 12, ARTICLE 2, ARIZONA REVISED STATUTES, BY ADDING SECTION 41-1724; RELATING TO UNLAWFULLY PRESENT ALIENS.
(TEXT OF BILL BEGINS ON NEXT PAGE)

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1 Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Arizona:
2 Section 1. Intent
3 The legislature finds that there is a compelling interest in the
4 cooperative enforcement of federal immigration laws throughout all of
5 Arizona. The legislature declares that the intent of this act is to make
6 attrition through enforcement the public policy of all state and local
7 government agencies in Arizona. The provisions of this act are intended to
8 work together to discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of
9 aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United
10 States.
11 Sec. 2. Title 11, chapter 7, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended by
12 adding article 8, to read:
13 ARTICLE 8. ENFORCEMENT OF IMMIGRATION LAWS
14 11-1051. Cooperation and assistance in enforcement of
15 immigration laws; indemnification
16 A. NO OFFICIAL OR AGENCY OF THIS STATE OR A COUNTY, CITY, TOWN OR
17 OTHER POLITICAL SUBDIVISION OF THIS STATE MAY ADOPT A POLICY THAT LIMITS OR
18 RESTRICTS THE ENFORCEMENT OF FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LAWS TO LESS THAN THE FULL
19 EXTENT PERMITTED BY FEDERAL LAW.
20 B. FOR ANY LAWFUL CONTACT MADE BY A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIAL OR AGENCY
21 OF THIS STATE OR A COUNTY, CITY, TOWN OR OTHER POLITICAL SUBDIVISION OF THIS
22 STATE WHERE REASONABLE SUSPICION EXISTS THAT THE PERSON IS AN ALIEN WHO IS
23 UNLAWFULLY PRESENT IN THE UNITED STATES, A REASONABLE ATTEMPT SHALL BE MADE,
24 WHEN PRACTICABLE, TO DETERMINE THE IMMIGRATION STATUS OF THE PERSON. THE
25 PERSON'S IMMIGRATION STATUS SHALL BE VERIFIED WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
26 PURSUANT TO 8 UNITED STATES CODE SECTION 1373(c).
27 C. IF AN ALIEN WHO IS UNLAWFULLY PRESENT IN THE UNITED STATES IS
28 CONVICTED OF A VIOLATION OF STATE OR LOCAL LAW, ON DISCHARGE FROM
29 IMPRISONMENT OR ASSESSMENT OF ANY FINE THAT IS IMPOSED, THE ALIEN SHALL BE
30 TRANSFERRED IMMEDIATELY TO THE CUSTODY OF THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION AND
31 CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT OR THE UNITED STATES CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION.
32 D. NOTWITHSTANDING ANY OTHER LAW, A LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY MAY
33 SECURELY TRANSPORT AN ALIEN WHO IS UNLAWFULLY PRESENT IN THE UNITED STATES
34 AND WHO IS IN THE AGENCY'S CUSTODY TO A FEDERAL FACILITY IN THIS STATE OR TO
35 ANY OTHER POINT OF TRANSFER INTO FEDERAL CUSTODY THAT IS OUTSIDE THE
36 JURISDICTION OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY.
37 E. A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER, WITHOUT A WARRANT, MAY ARREST A PERSON
38 IF THE OFFICER HAS PROBABLE CAUSE TO BELIEVE THAT THE PERSON HAS COMMITTED
39 ANY PUBLIC OFFENSE THAT MAKES THE PERSON REMOVABLE FROM THE UNITED STATES.
40 F. EXCEPT AS PROVIDED IN FEDERAL LAW, OFFICIALS OR AGENCIES OF THIS
41 STATE AND COUNTIES, CITIES, TOWNS AND OTHER POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS OF THIS
42 STATE MAY NOT BE PROHIBITED OR IN ANY WAY BE RESTRICTED FROM SENDING,
43 RECEIVING OR MAINTAINING INFORMATION RELATING TO THE IMMIGRATION STATUS OF
44 ANY INDIVIDUAL OR EXCHANGING THAT INFORMATION WITH ANY OTHER FEDERAL, STATE
45 OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL ENTITY FOR THE FOLLOWING OFFICIAL PURPOSES:

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1 1. DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY FOR ANY PUBLIC BENEFIT, SERVICE OR LICENSE
2 PROVIDED BY ANY FEDERAL, STATE, LOCAL OR OTHER POLITICAL SUBDIVISION OF THIS
3 STATE.
4 2. VERIFYING ANY CLAIM OF RESIDENCE OR DOMICILE IF DETERMINATION OF
5 RESIDENCE OR DOMICILE IS REQUIRED UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS STATE OR A JUDICIAL
6 ORDER ISSUED PURSUANT TO A CIVIL OR CRIMINAL PROCEEDING IN THIS STATE.
7 3. CONFIRMING THE IDENTITY OF ANY PERSON WHO IS DETAINED.
8 4. IF THE PERSON IS AN ALIEN, DETERMINING WHETHER THE PERSON IS IN
9 COMPLIANCE WITH THE FEDERAL REGISTRATION LAWS PRESCRIBED BY TITLE II, CHAPTER
10 7 OF THE FEDERAL IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT.
11 G. A PERSON MAY BRING AN ACTION IN SUPERIOR COURT TO CHALLENGE ANY
12 OFFICIAL OR AGENCY OF THIS STATE OR A COUNTY, CITY, TOWN OR OTHER POLITICAL
13 SUBDIVISION OF THIS STATE THAT ADOPTS OR IMPLEMENTS A POLICY THAT LIMITS OR
14 RESTRICTS THE ENFORCEMENT OF FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LAWS TO LESS THAN THE FULL
15 EXTENT PERMITTED BY FEDERAL LAW. IF THERE IS A JUDICIAL FINDING THAT AN
16 ENTITY HAS VIOLATED THIS SECTION, THE COURT SHALL ORDER ANY OF THE FOLLOWING:
17 1. THAT THE PERSON WHO BROUGHT THE ACTION RECOVER COURT COSTS AND
18 ATTORNEY FEES.
19 2. THAT THE ENTITY PAY A CIVIL PENALTY OF NOT LESS THAN ONE THOUSAND
20 DOLLARS AND NOT MORE THAN FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR EACH DAY THAT THE POLICY
21 HAS REMAINED IN EFFECT AFTER THE FILING OF AN ACTION PURSUANT TO THIS
22 SUBSECTION.
23 H. A COURT SHALL COLLECT THE CIVIL PENALTY PRESCRIBED IN SUBSECTION G
24 AND REMIT THE CIVIL PENALTY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY FOR DEPOSIT IN
25 THE GANG AND IMMIGRATION INTELLIGENCE TEAM ENFORCEMENT MISSION FUND
26 ESTABLISHED BY SECTION 41-1724.
27 I. A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER IS INDEMNIFIED BY THE LAW ENFORCEMENT
28 OFFICER'S AGENCY AGAINST REASONABLE COSTS AND EXPENSES, INCLUDING ATTORNEY
29 FEES, INCURRED BY THE OFFICER IN CONNECTION WITH ANY ACTION, SUIT OR
30 PROCEEDING BROUGHT PURSUANT TO THIS SECTION TO WHICH THE OFFICER MAY BE A
31 PARTY BY REASON OF THE OFFICER BEING OR HAVING BEEN A MEMBER OF THE LAW
32 ENFORCEMENT AGENCY, EXCEPT IN RELATION TO MATTERS IN WHICH THE OFFICER IS
33 ADJUDGED TO HAVE ACTED IN BAD FAITH.
34 J. THIS SECTION SHALL BE IMPLEMENTED IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH
35 FEDERAL LAWS REGULATING IMMIGRATION, PROTECTING THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF ALL
36 PERSONS AND RESPECTING THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF UNITED STATES
37 CITIZENS.
38 Sec. 3. Title 13, chapter 15, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended by
39 adding section 13-1509, to read:
40 13-1509. Trespassing by illegal aliens; assessment; exception;
41 classification
42 A. IN ADDITION TO ANY VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW, A PERSON IS GUILTY OF
43 TRESPASSING IF THE PERSON IS BOTH:
44 1. PRESENT ON ANY PUBLIC OR PRIVATE LAND IN THIS STATE.
45 2. IN VIOLATION OF 8 UNITED STATES CODE SECTION 1304(e) OR 1306(a).

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1 B. IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THIS SECTION, THE FINAL DETERMINATION OF AN
2 ALIEN'S IMMIGRATION STATUS SHALL BE DETERMINED BY EITHER:
3 1. A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER WHO IS AUTHORIZED BY THE FEDERAL
4 GOVERNMENT TO VERIFY OR ASCERTAIN AN ALIEN'S IMMIGRATION STATUS.
5 2. A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER OR AGENCY COMMUNICATING WITH THE UNITED
6 STATES IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT OR THE UNITED STATES BORDER
7 PROTECTION PURSUANT TO 8 UNITED STATES CODE SECTION 1373(c).
8 C. A PERSON WHO IS SENTENCED PURSUANT TO THIS SECTION IS NOT ELIGIBLE
9 FOR SUSPENSION OR COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE OR RELEASE ON ANY BASIS UNTIL THE
10 SENTENCE IMPOSED IS SERVED.
11 D. IN ADDITION TO ANY OTHER PENALTY PRESCRIBED BY LAW, THE COURT SHALL
12 ORDER THE PERSON TO PAY JAIL COSTS AND AN ADDITIONAL ASSESSMENT IN THE
13 FOLLOWING AMOUNTS:
14 1. AT LEAST FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR A FIRST VIOLATION.
15 2. TWICE THE AMOUNT SPECIFIED IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS SUBSECTION IF THE
16 PERSON WAS PREVIOUSLY SUBJECT TO AN ASSESSMENT PURSUANT TO THIS SUBSECTION.
17 E. A COURT SHALL COLLECT THE ASSESSMENTS PRESCRIBED IN SUBSECTION D OF
18 THIS SECTION AND REMIT THE ASSESSMENTS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY,
19 WHICH SHALL ESTABLISH A SPECIAL SUBACCOUNT FOR THE MONIES IN THE ACCOUNT
20 ESTABLISHED FOR THE GANG AND IMMIGRATION INTELLIGENCE TEAM ENFORCEMENT
21 MISSION APPROPRIATION. MONIES IN THE SPECIAL SUBACCOUNT ARE SUBJECT TO
22 LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION FOR DISTRIBUTION FOR GANG AND IMMIGRATION
23 ENFORCEMENT AND FOR COUNTY JAIL REIMBURSEMENT COSTS RELATING TO ILLEGAL
24 IMMIGRATION.
25 F. THIS SECTION DOES NOT APPLY TO A PERSON WHO MAINTAINS AUTHORIZATION
26 FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO REMAIN IN THE UNITED STATES.
27 G. A VIOLATION OF THIS SECTION IS A CLASS 1 MISDEMEANOR, EXCEPT THAT A
28 VIOLATION OF THIS SECTION IS:
29 1. A CLASS 3 FELONY IF THE PERSON VIOLATES THIS SECTION WHILE IN
30 POSSESSION OF ANY OF THE FOLLOWING:
31 (a) A DANGEROUS DRUG AS DEFINED IN SECTION 13-3401.
32 (b) PRECURSOR CHEMICALS THAT ARE USED IN THE MANUFACTURING OF
33 METHAMPHETAMINE IN VIOLATION OF SECTION 13-3404.01.
34 (c) A DEADLY WEAPON OR A DANGEROUS INSTRUMENT, AS DEFINED IN SECTION
35 13-105.
36 (d) PROPERTY THAT IS USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMMITTING AN ACT OF
37 TERRORISM AS PRESCRIBED IN SECTION 13-2308.01.
38 2. A CLASS 4 FELONY IF THE PERSON EITHER:
39 (a) IS CONVICTED OF A SECOND OR SUBSEQUENT VIOLATION OF THIS SECTION.
40 (b) WITHIN SIXTY MONTHS BEFORE THE VIOLATION, HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM
41 THE UNITED STATES PURSUANT TO 8 UNITED STATES CODE SECTION 1229a OR HAS
42 ACCEPTED A VOLUNTARY REMOVAL FROM THE UNITED STATES PURSUANT TO 8 UNITED
43 STATES CODE SECTION 1229c.

1 Sec. 4. Section 13-2319, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended to read:
2 13-2319. Smuggling; classification; definitions
3 A. It is unlawful for a person to intentionally engage in the
4 smuggling of human beings for profit or commercial purpose.
5 B. A violation of this section is a class 4 felony.
6 C. Notwithstanding subsection B of this section, a violation of this
7 section:
8 1. Is a class 2 felony if the human being who is smuggled is under
9 eighteen years of age and is not accompanied by a family member over eighteen
10 years of age or the offense involved the use of a deadly weapon or dangerous
11 instrument.
12 2. Is a class 3 felony if the offense involves the use or threatened
13 use of deadly physical force and the person is not eligible for suspension of
14 sentence, probation, pardon or release from confinement on any other basis
15 except pursuant to section 31-233, subsection A or B until the sentence
16 imposed by the court is served, the person is eligible for release pursuant
17 to section 41-1604.07 or the sentence is commuted.
18 D. Chapter 10 of this title does not apply to a violation of
19 subsection C, paragraph 1 of this section.
20 E. NOTWITHSTANDING ANY OTHER LAW, A PEACE OFFICER MAY LAWFULLY STOP
21 ANY PERSON WHO IS OPERATING A MOTOR VEHICLE IF THE OFFICER HAS REASONABLE
22 SUSPICION TO BELIEVE THE PERSON IS IN VIOLATION OF ANY CIVIL TRAFFIC LAW AND
23 THIS SECTION.
24 E. F. For the purposes of this section:
25 1. "Family member" means the person's parent, grandparent, sibling or
26 any other person who is related to the person by consanguinity or affinity to
27 the second degree.
28 2. "Procurement of transportation" means any participation in or
29 facilitation of transportation and includes:
30 (a) Providing services that facilitate transportation including travel
31 arrangement services or money transmission services.
32 (b) Providing property that facilitates transportation, including a
33 weapon, a vehicle or other means of transportation or false identification,
34 or selling, leasing, renting or otherwise making available a drop house as
35 defined in section 13-2322.
36 3. "Smuggling of human beings" means the transportation, procurement
37 of transportation or use of property or real property by a person or an
38 entity that knows or has reason to know that the person or persons
39 transported or to be transported are not United States citizens, permanent
40 resident aliens or persons otherwise lawfully in this state or have attempted
41 to enter, entered or remained in the United States in violation of law.

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1 Sec. 5. Title 13, chapter 29, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended by
2 adding sections 13-2928 and 13-2929, to read:
3 13-2928. Unlawful stopping to hire and pick up passengers for
4 work; unlawful application, solicitation or
5 employment; classification; definitions
6 A. IT IS UNLAWFUL FOR AN OCCUPANT OF A MOTOR VEHICLE THAT IS STOPPED
7 ON A STREET, ROADWAY OR HIGHWAY TO ATTEMPT TO HIRE OR HIRE AND PICK UP
8 PASSENGERS FOR WORK AT A DIFFERENT LOCATION IF THE MOTOR VEHICLE BLOCKS
OR
9 IMPEDES THE NORMAL MOVEMENT OF TRAFFIC.
10 B. IT IS UNLAWFUL FOR A PERSON TO ENTER A MOTOR VEHICLE THAT IS
11 STOPPED ON A STREET, ROADWAY OR HIGHWAY IN ORDER TO BE HIRED BY AN
OCCUPANT
12 OF THE MOTOR VEHICLE AND TO BE TRANSPORTED TO WORK AT A DIFFERENT
LOCATION IF
13 THE MOTOR VEHICLE BLOCKS OR IMPEDES THE NORMAL MOVEMENT OF TRAFFIC.
14 C. IT IS UNLAWFUL FOR A PERSON WHO IS UNLAWFULLY PRESENT IN THE UNITED
15 STATES AND WHO IS AN UNAUTHORIZED ALIEN TO KNOWINGLY APPLY FOR WORK,
SOLICIT
16 WORK IN A PUBLIC PLACE OR PERFORM WORK AS AN EMPLOYEE OR INDEPENDENT
17 CONTRACTOR IN THIS STATE.
18 D. A VIOLATION OF THIS SECTION IS A CLASS 1 MISDEMEANOR.
19 E. FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS SECTION:
20 1. "SOLICIT" MEANS VERBAL OR NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION BY A GESTURE OR A
21 NOD THAT WOULD INDICATE TO A REASONABLE PERSON THAT A PERSON IS WILLING
TO BE
22 EMPLOYED.
23 2. "UNAUTHORIZED ALIEN" MEANS AN ALIEN WHO DOES NOT HAVE THE LEGAL
24 RIGHT OR AUTHORIZATION UNDER FEDERAL LAW TO WORK IN THE UNITED STATES AS
25 DESCRIBED IN 8 UNITED STATES CODE SECTION 1324a(h)(3).
26 13-2929. Unlawful transporting, moving, concealing, harboring
27 or shielding of unlawful aliens; vehicle
28 impoundment; classification
29 A. IT IS UNLAWFUL FOR A PERSON WHO IS IN VIOLATION OF A CRIMINAL
30 OFFENSE TO:
31 1. TRANSPORT OR MOVE OR ATTEMPT TO TRANSPORT OR MOVE AN ALIEN IN THIS
32 STATE IN A MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION IF THE PERSON KNOWS OR RECKLESSLY
33 DISREGARDS THE FACT THAT THE ALIEN HAS COME TO, HAS ENTERED OR REMAINS IN
THE
34 UNITED STATES IN VIOLATION OF LAW.
35 2. CONCEAL, HARBOR OR SHIELD OR ATTEMPT TO CONCEAL, HARBOR OR SHIELD
36 AN ALIEN FROM DETECTION IN ANY PLACE IN THIS STATE, INCLUDING ANY BUILDING
OR
37 ANY MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION, IF THE PERSON KNOWS OR RECKLESSLY
DISREGARDS THE
38 FACT THAT THE ALIEN HAS COME TO, HAS ENTERED OR REMAINS IN THE UNITED
STATES
39 IN VIOLATION OF LAW.
40 3. ENCOURAGE OR INDUCE AN ALIEN TO COME TO OR RESIDE IN THIS STATE IF
41 THE PERSON KNOWS OR RECKLESSLY DISREGARDS THE FACT THAT SUCH COMING TO,
42 ENTERING OR RESIDING IN THIS STATE IS OR WILL BE IN VIOLATION OF LAW.
43 B. A MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION THAT IS USED IN THE COMMISSION OF A
44 VIOLATION OF THIS SECTION IS SUBJECT TO MANDATORY VEHICLE IMMOBILIZATION OR
45 IMPOUNDMENT PURSUANT TO SECTION 28-3511.

1 C. A PERSON WHO VIOLATES THIS SECTION IS GUILTY OF A CLASS 1
2 MISDEMEANOR AND IS SUBJECT TO A FINE OF AT LEAST ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS, EXCEPT
3 THAT A VIOLATION OF THIS SECTION THAT INVOLVES TEN OR MORE ILLEGAL ALIENS IS
4 A CLASS 6 FELONY AND THE PERSON IS SUBJECT TO A FINE OF AT LEAST ONE THOUSAND
5 DOLLARS FOR EACH ALIEN WHO IS INVOLVED.
6 Sec. 6. Section 23-212, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended to read:
7 23-212. Knowingly employing unauthorized aliens; prohibition;
8 false and frivolous complaints; violation;
9 classification; license suspension and revocation;
10 affirmative defense
11 A. An employer shall not knowingly employ an unauthorized alien. If,
12 in the case when an employer uses a contract, subcontract or other
13 independent contractor agreement to obtain the labor of an alien in this
14 state, the employer knowingly contracts with an unauthorized alien or with a
15 person who employs or contracts with an unauthorized alien to perform the
16 labor, the employer violates this subsection.
17 B. The attorney general shall prescribe a complaint form for a person
18 to allege a violation of subsection A of this section. The complainant shall
19 not be required to list the complainant's social security number on the
20 complaint form or to have the complaint form notarized. On receipt of a
21 complaint on a prescribed complaint form that an employer allegedly knowingly
22 employs an unauthorized alien, the attorney general or county attorney shall
23 investigate whether the employer has violated subsection A of this section.
24 If a complaint is received but is not submitted on a prescribed complaint
25 form, the attorney general or county attorney may investigate whether the
26 employer has violated subsection A of this section. This subsection shall
27 not be construed to prohibit the filing of anonymous complaints that are not
28 submitted on a prescribed complaint form. The attorney general or county
29 attorney shall not investigate complaints that are based solely on race,
30 color or national origin. A complaint that is submitted to a county attorney
31 shall be submitted to the county attorney in the county in which the alleged
32 unauthorized alien is or was employed by the employer. The county sheriff or
33 any other local law enforcement agency may assist in investigating a
34 complaint. When investigating a complaint, the attorney general or county
35 attorney shall verify the work authorization of the alleged unauthorized
36 alien with the federal government pursuant to 8 United States Code section
37 1373(c). A state, county or local official shall not attempt to
38 independently make a final determination on whether an alien is authorized to
39 work in the United States. An alien's immigration status or work
40 authorization status shall be verified with the federal government pursuant
41 to 8 United States Code section 1373(c). A person who knowingly files a
42 false and frivolous complaint under this subsection is guilty of a class 3
43 misdemeanor.

1 C. If, after an investigation, the attorney general or county attorney
2 determines that the complaint is not false and frivolous:
3 1. The attorney general or county attorney shall notify the United
4 States immigration and customs enforcement of the unauthorized alien.
5 2. The attorney general or county attorney shall notify the local law
6 enforcement agency of the unauthorized alien.
7 3. The attorney general shall notify the appropriate county attorney
8 to bring an action pursuant to subsection D of this section if the complaint
9 was originally filed with the attorney general.
10 D. An action for a violation of subsection A of this section shall be
11 brought against the employer by the county attorney in the county where the
12 unauthorized alien employee is or was employed by the employer. The county
13 attorney shall not bring an action against any employer for any violation of
14 subsection A of this section that occurs before January 1, 2008. A second
15 violation of this section shall be based only on an unauthorized alien who is
16 or was employed by the employer after an action has been brought for a
17 violation of subsection A of this section or section 23-212.01, subsection A.
18 E. For any action in superior court under this section, the court
19 shall expedite the action, including assigning the hearing at the earliest
20 practicable date.
21 F. On a finding of a violation of subsection A of this section:
22 1. For a first violation, as described in paragraph 3 of this
23 subsection, the court:
24 (a) Shall order the employer to terminate the employment of all
25 unauthorized aliens.
26 (b) Shall order the employer to be subject to a three year
27 probationary period for the business location where the unauthorized alien
28 performed work. During the probationary period the employer shall file
29 quarterly reports in the form provided in section 23-722.01 with the county
30 attorney of each new employee who is hired by the employer at the business
31 location where the unauthorized alien performed work.
32 (c) Shall order the employer to file a signed sworn affidavit with the
33 county attorney within three business days after the order is issued. The
34 affidavit shall state that the employer has terminated the employment of all
35 unauthorized aliens in this state and that the employer will not
36 intentionally or knowingly employ an unauthorized alien in this state. The
37 court shall order the appropriate agencies to suspend all licenses subject to
38 this subdivision that are held by the employer if the employer fails to file
39 a signed sworn affidavit with the county attorney within three business days
40 after the order is issued. All licenses that are suspended under this
41 subdivision shall remain suspended until the employer files a signed sworn
42 affidavit with the county attorney. Notwithstanding any other law, on filing
43 of the affidavit the suspended licenses shall be reinstated immediately by
44 the appropriate agencies. For the purposes of this subdivision, the licenses
45 that are subject to suspension under this subdivision are all licenses that

1 are held by the employer specific to the business location where the
2 unauthorized alien performed work. If the employer does not hold a license
3 specific to the business location where the unauthorized alien performed
4 work, but a license is necessary to operate the employer's business in
5 general, the licenses that are subject to suspension under this subdivision
6 are all licenses that are held by the employer at the employer's primary
7 place of business. On receipt of the court's order and notwithstanding any
8 other law, the appropriate agencies shall suspend the licenses according to
9 the court's order. The court shall send a copy of the court's order to the
10 attorney general and the attorney general shall maintain the copy pursuant to
11 subsection G of this section.
12 (d) May order the appropriate agencies to suspend all licenses
13 described in subdivision (c) of this paragraph that are held by the employer
14 for not to exceed ten business days. The court shall base its decision to
15 suspend under this subdivision on any evidence or information submitted to it
16 during the action for a violation of this subsection and shall consider the
17 following factors, if relevant:
18 (i) The number of unauthorized aliens employed by the employer.
19 (ii) Any prior misconduct by the employer.
20 (iii) The degree of harm resulting from the violation.
21 (iv) Whether the employer made good faith efforts to comply with any
22 applicable requirements.
23 (v) The duration of the violation.
24 (vi) The role of the directors, officers or principals of the employer
25 in the violation.
26 (vii) Any other factors the court deems appropriate.
27 2. For a second violation, as described in paragraph 3 of this
28 subsection, the court shall order the appropriate agencies to permanently
29 revoke all licenses that are held by the employer specific to the business
30 location where the unauthorized alien performed work. If the employer does
31 not hold a license specific to the business location where the unauthorized
32 alien performed work, but a license is necessary to operate the employer's
33 business in general, the court shall order the appropriate agencies to
34 permanently revoke all licenses that are held by the employer at the
35 employer's primary place of business. On receipt of the order and
36 notwithstanding any other law, the appropriate agencies shall immediately
37 revoke the licenses.
38 3. The violation shall be considered:
39 (a) A first violation by an employer at a business location if the
40 violation did not occur during a probationary period ordered by the court
41 under this subsection or section 23-212.01, subsection F for that employer's
42 business location.
43 (b) A second violation by an employer at a business location if the
44 violation occurred during a probationary period ordered by the court under

1 this subsection or section 23-212.01, subsection F for that employer's
2 business location.
3 G. The attorney general shall maintain copies of court orders that are
4 received pursuant to subsection F of this section and shall maintain a
5 database of the employers and business locations that have a first violation
6 of subsection A of this section and make the court orders available on the
7 attorney general's website.
8 H. On determining whether an employee is an unauthorized alien, the
9 court shall consider only the federal government's determination pursuant to
10 8 United States Code section 1373(c). The federal government's determination
11 creates a rebuttable presumption of the employee's lawful status. The court
12 may take judicial notice of the federal government's determination and may
13 request the federal government to provide automated or testimonial
14 verification pursuant to 8 United States Code section 1373(c).
15 I. For the purposes of this section, proof of verifying the employment
16 authorization of an employee through the e-verify program creates a
17 rebuttable presumption that an employer did not knowingly employ an
18 unauthorized alien.
19 J. For the purposes of this section, an employer that establishes that
20 it has complied in good faith with the requirements of 8 United States Code
21 section 1324a(b) establishes an affirmative defense that the employer did not
22 knowingly employ an unauthorized alien. An employer is considered to have
23 complied with the requirements of 8 United States Code section 1324a(b),
24 notwithstanding an isolated, sporadic or accidental technical or procedural
25 failure to meet the requirements, if there is a good faith attempt to comply
26 with the requirements.
27 K. IT IS AN AFFIRMATIVE DEFENSE TO A VIOLATION OF SUBSECTION A OF THIS
28 SECTION THAT THE EMPLOYER WAS ENTRAPPED. TO CLAIM ENTRAPMENT, THE EMPLOYER
29 MUST ADMIT BY THE EMPLOYER'S TESTIMONY OR OTHER EVIDENCE THE SUBSTANTIAL
30 ELEMENTS OF THE VIOLATION. AN EMPLOYER WHO ASSERTS AN ENTRAPMENT DEFENSE HAS
31 THE BURDEN OF PROVING THE FOLLOWING BY CLEAR AND CONVINCING EVIDENCE:
32 1. THE IDEA OF COMMITTING THE VIOLATION STARTED WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT
33 OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS RATHER THAN WITH THE EMPLOYER.
34 2. THE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS URGED AND INDUCED THE
35 EMPLOYER TO COMMIT THE VIOLATION.
36 3. THE EMPLOYER WAS NOT PREDISPOSED TO COMMIT THE VIOLATION BEFORE THE
37 LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS URGED AND INDUCED THE EMPLOYER TO
38 COMMIT THE VIOLATION.
39 L. AN EMPLOYER DOES NOT ESTABLISH ENTRAPMENT IF THE EMPLOYER WAS
40 PREDISPOSED TO VIOLATE SUBSECTION A OF THIS SECTION AND THE LAW ENFORCEMENT
41 OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS MERELY PROVIDED THE EMPLOYER WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO
42 COMMIT THE VIOLATION. IT IS NOT ENTRAPMENT FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OR
43 THEIR AGENTS MERELY TO USE A RUSE OR TO CONCEAL THEIR IDENTITY. THE CONDUCT
44 OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS AND THEIR AGENTS MAY BE CONSIDERED IN DETERMINING
45 IF AN EMPLOYER HAS PROVEN ENTRAPMENT.

S.B. 1070

1 Sec. 7. Section 23-212.01, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended to
2 read:
3 23-212.01. Intentionally employing unauthorized aliens;
4 prohibition; false and frivolous complaints;
5 violation; classification; license suspension and
6 revocation; affirmative defense
7 A. An employer shall not intentionally employ an unauthorized alien.
8 If, in the case when an employer uses a contract, subcontract or other
9 independent contractor agreement to obtain the labor of an alien in this
10 state, the employer intentionally contracts with an unauthorized alien or
11 with a person who employs or contracts with an unauthorized alien to perform
12 the labor, the employer violates this subsection.
13 B. The attorney general shall prescribe a complaint form for a person
14 to allege a violation of subsection A of this section. The complainant shall
15 not be required to list the complainant's social security number on the
16 complaint form or to have the complaint form notarized. On receipt of a
17 complaint on a prescribed complaint form that an employer allegedly
18 intentionally employs an unauthorized alien, the attorney general or county
19 attorney shall investigate whether the employer has violated subsection A of
20 this section. If a complaint is received but is not submitted on a
21 prescribed complaint form, the attorney general or county attorney may
22 investigate whether the employer has violated subsection A of this section.
23 This subsection shall not be construed to prohibit the filing of anonymous
24 complaints that are not submitted on a prescribed complaint form. The
25 attorney general or county attorney shall not investigate complaints that are
26 based solely on race, color or national origin. A complaint that is
27 submitted to a county attorney shall be submitted to the county attorney in
28 the county in which the alleged unauthorized alien is or was employed by the
29 employer. The county sheriff or any other local law enforcement agency may
30 assist in investigating a complaint. When investigating a complaint, the
31 attorney general or county attorney shall verify the work authorization of
32 the alleged unauthorized alien with the federal government pursuant to
33 8 United States Code section 1373(c). A state, county or local official
34 shall not attempt to independently make a final determination on whether an
35 alien is authorized to work in the United States. An alien's immigration
36 status or work authorization status shall be verified with the federal
37 government pursuant to 8 United States Code section 1373(c). A person who
38 knowingly files a false and frivolous complaint under this subsection is
39 guilty of a class 3 misdemeanor.
40 C. If, after an investigation, the attorney general or county attorney
41 determines that the complaint is not false and frivolous:
42 1. The attorney general or county attorney shall notify the United
43 States immigration and customs enforcement of the unauthorized alien.
44 2. The attorney general or county attorney shall notify the local law
45 enforcement agency of the unauthorized alien.

1 3. The attorney general shall notify the appropriate county attorney
2 to bring an action pursuant to subsection D of this section if the complaint
3 was originally filed with the attorney general.
4 D. An action for a violation of subsection A of this section shall be
5 brought against the employer by the county attorney in the county where the
6 unauthorized alien employee is or was employed by the employer. The county
7 attorney shall not bring an action against any employer for any violation of
8 subsection A of this section that occurs before January 1, 2008. A second
9 violation of this section shall be based only on an unauthorized alien who is
10 or was employed by the employer after an action has been brought for a
11 violation of subsection A of this section or section 23-212, subsection A.
12 E. For any action in superior court under this section, the court
13 shall expedite the action, including assigning the hearing at the earliest
14 practicable date.
15 F. On a finding of a violation of subsection A of this section:
16 1. For a first violation, as described in paragraph 3 of this
17 subsection, the court shall:
18 (a) Order the employer to terminate the employment of all unauthorized
19 aliens.
20 (b) Order the employer to be subject to a five year probationary
21 period for the business location where the unauthorized alien performed work.
22 During the probationary period the employer shall file quarterly reports in
23 the form provided in section 23-722.01 with the county attorney of each new
24 employee who is hired by the employer at the business location where the
25 unauthorized alien performed work.
26 (c) Order the appropriate agencies to suspend all licenses described
27 in subdivision (d) of this paragraph that are held by the employer for a
28 minimum of ten days. The court shall base its decision on the length of the
29 suspension under this subdivision on any evidence or information submitted to
30 it during the action for a violation of this subsection and shall consider
31 the following factors, if relevant:
32 (i) The number of unauthorized aliens employed by the employer.
33 (ii) Any prior misconduct by the employer.
34 (iii) The degree of harm resulting from the violation.
35 (iv) Whether the employer made good faith efforts to comply with any
36 applicable requirements.
37 (v) The duration of the violation.
38 (vi) The role of the directors, officers or principals of the employer
39 in the violation.
40 (vii) Any other factors the court deems appropriate.
41 (d) Order the employer to file a signed sworn affidavit with the
42 county attorney. The affidavit shall state that the employer has terminated
43 the employment of all unauthorized aliens in this state and that the employer
44 will not intentionally or knowingly employ an unauthorized alien in this
45 state. The court shall order the appropriate agencies to suspend all

1 licenses subject to this subdivision that are held by the employer if the
2 employer fails to file a signed sworn affidavit with the county attorney
3 within three business days after the order is issued. All licenses that are
4 suspended under this subdivision for failing to file a signed sworn affidavit
5 shall remain suspended until the employer files a signed sworn affidavit with
6 the county attorney. For the purposes of this subdivision, the licenses that
7 are subject to suspension under this subdivision are all licenses that are
8 held by the employer specific to the business location where the unauthorized
9 alien performed work. If the employer does not hold a license specific to
10 the business location where the unauthorized alien performed work, but a
11 license is necessary to operate the employer's business in general, the
12 licenses that are subject to suspension under this subdivision are all
13 licenses that are held by the employer at the employer's primary place of
14 business. On receipt of the court's order and notwithstanding any other law,
15 the appropriate agencies shall suspend the licenses according to the court's
16 order. The court shall send a copy of the court's order to the attorney
17 general and the attorney general shall maintain the copy pursuant to
18 subsection G of this section.
19 2. For a second violation, as described in paragraph 3 of this
20 subsection, the court shall order the appropriate agencies to permanently
21 revoke all licenses that are held by the employer specific to the business
22 location where the unauthorized alien performed work. If the employer does
23 not hold a license specific to the business location where the unauthorized
24 alien performed work, but a license is necessary to operate the employer's
25 business in general, the court shall order the appropriate agencies to
26 permanently revoke all licenses that are held by the employer at the
27 employer's primary place of business. On receipt of the order and
28 notwithstanding any other law, the appropriate agencies shall immediately
29 revoke the licenses.
30 3. The violation shall be considered:
31 (a) A first violation by an employer at a business location if the
32 violation did not occur during a probationary period ordered by the court
33 under this subsection or section 23-212, subsection F for that employer's
34 business location.
35 (b) A second violation by an employer at a business location if the
36 violation occurred during a probationary period ordered by the court under
37 this subsection or section 23-212, subsection F for that employer's business
38 location.
39 G. The attorney general shall maintain copies of court orders that are
40 received pursuant to subsection F of this section and shall maintain a
41 database of the employers and business locations that have a first violation
42 of subsection A of this section and make the court orders available on the
43 attorney general's website.
44 H. On determining whether an employee is an unauthorized alien, the
45 court shall consider only the federal government's determination pursuant to

1 8 United States Code section 1373(c). The federal government's determination
2 creates a rebuttable presumption of the employee's lawful status. The court
3 may take judicial notice of the federal government's determination and may
4 request the federal government to provide automated or testimonial
5 verification pursuant to 8 United States Code section 1373(c).
6 I. For the purposes of this section, proof of verifying the employment
7 authorization of an employee through the e-verify program creates a
8 rebuttable presumption that an employer did not intentionally employ an
9 unauthorized alien.
10 J. For the purposes of this section, an employer that establishes that
11 it has complied in good faith with the requirements of 8 United States Code
12 section 1324a(b) establishes an affirmative defense that the employer did not
13 intentionally employ an unauthorized alien. An employer is considered to
14 have complied with the requirements of 8 United States Code section 1324a(b),
15 notwithstanding an isolated, sporadic or accidental technical or procedural
16 failure to meet the requirements, if there is a good faith attempt to comply
17 with the requirements.
18 K. IT IS AN AFFIRMATIVE DEFENSE TO A VIOLATION OF SUBSECTION A OF THIS
19 SECTION THAT THE EMPLOYER WAS ENTRAPPED. TO CLAIM ENTRAPMENT, THE EMPLOYER
20 MUST ADMIT BY THE EMPLOYER'S TESTIMONY OR OTHER EVIDENCE THE SUBSTANTIAL
21 ELEMENTS OF THE VIOLATION. AN EMPLOYER WHO ASSERTS AN ENTRAPMENT DEFENSE HAS
22 THE BURDEN OF PROVING THE FOLLOWING BY CLEAR AND CONVINCING EVIDENCE:
23 1. THE IDEA OF COMMITTING THE VIOLATION STARTED WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT
24 OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS RATHER THAN WITH THE EMPLOYER.
25 2. THE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS URGED AND INDUCED THE
26 EMPLOYER TO COMMIT THE VIOLATION.
27 3. THE EMPLOYER WAS NOT PREDISPOSED TO COMMIT THE VIOLATION BEFORE THE
28 LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS URGED AND INDUCED THE EMPLOYER TO
29 COMMIT THE VIOLATION.
30 L. AN EMPLOYER DOES NOT ESTABLISH ENTRAPMENT IF THE EMPLOYER WAS
31 PREDISPOSED TO VIOLATE SUBSECTION A OF THIS SECTION AND THE LAW ENFORCEMENT
32 OFFICERS OR THEIR AGENTS MERELY PROVIDED THE EMPLOYER WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO
33 COMMIT THE VIOLATION. IT IS NOT ENTRAPMENT FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OR
34 THEIR AGENTS MERELY TO USE A RUSE OR TO CONCEAL THEIR IDENTITY. THE CONDUCT
35 OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS AND THEIR AGENTS MAY BE CONSIDERED IN DETERMINING
36 IF AN EMPLOYER HAS PROVEN ENTRAPMENT.
37 Sec. 8. Section 23-214, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended to read:
38 23-214. Verification of employment eligibility; e-verify
39 program; economic development incentives; list of
40 registered employers
41 A. After December 31, 2007, every employer, after hiring an employee,
42 shall verify the employment eligibility of the employee through the e-verify
43 program AND SHALL KEEP A RECORD OF THE VERIFICATION FOR THE DURATION OF THE
44 EMPLOYEE'S EMPLOYMENT OR AT LEAST THREE YEARS, WHICHEVER IS LONGER.

1 B. In addition to any other requirement for an employer to receive an
2 economic development incentive from a government entity, the employer shall
3 register with and participate in the e-verify program. Before receiving the
4 economic development incentive, the employer shall provide proof to the
5 government entity that the employer is registered with and is participating
6 in the e-verify program. If the government entity determines that the
7 employer is not complying with this subsection, the government entity shall
8 notify the employer by certified mail of the government entity's
9 determination of noncompliance and the employer's right to appeal the
10 determination. On a final determination of noncompliance, the employer shall
11 repay all monies received as an economic development incentive to the
12 government entity within thirty days of the final determination. For the
13 purposes of this subsection:
14 1. "Economic development incentive" means any grant, loan or
15 performance-based incentive from any government entity that is awarded after
16 September 30, 2008. Economic development incentive does not include any tax
17 provision under title 42 or 43.
18 2. "Government entity" means this state and any political subdivision
19 of this state that receives and uses tax revenues.
20 C. Every three months the attorney general shall request from the
21 United States department of homeland security a list of employers from this
22 state that are registered with the e-verify program. On receipt of the list
23 of employers, the attorney general shall make the list available on the
24 attorney general's website.
25 Sec. 9. Section 28-3511, Arizona Revised Statutes, is amended to read:
26 28-3511. Removal and immobilization or impoundment of vehicle
27 A. A peace officer shall cause the removal and either immobilization
28 or impoundment of a vehicle if the peace officer determines that a person is
29 driving the vehicle while any of the following applies:
30 1. The person's driving privilege is suspended or revoked for any
31 reason.
32 2. The person has not ever been issued a valid driver license or
33 permit by this state and the person does not produce evidence of ever having
34 a valid driver license or permit issued by another jurisdiction. This
35 paragraph does not apply to the operation of an implement of husbandry.
36 3. The person is subject to an ignition interlock device requirement
37 pursuant to chapter 4 of this title and the person is operating a vehicle
38 without a functioning certified ignition interlock device. This paragraph
39 does not apply to a person operating an employer's vehicle or the operation
40 of a vehicle due to a substantial emergency as defined in section 28-1464.
41 4. THE PERSON IS IN VIOLATION OF A CRIMINAL OFFENSE AND IS
42 TRANSPORTING, MOVING, CONCEALING, HARBORING OR SHIELDING OR ATTEMPTING TO
43 TRANSPORT, MOVE, CONCEAL, HARBOR OR SHIELD AN ALIEN IN THIS STATE IN A
44 VEHICLE IF THE PERSON KNOWS OR RECKLESSLY DISREGARDS THE FACT THAT THE ALIEN
45 HAS COME TO, HAS ENTERED OR REMAINS IN THE UNITED STATES IN VIOLATION OF LAW.

1 B. A peace officer shall cause the removal and impoundment of a
2 vehicle if the peace officer determines that a person is driving the vehicle
3 and if all of the following apply:
4 1. The person's driving privilege is canceled, suspended or revoked
5 for any reason or the person has not ever been issued a driver license or
6 permit by this state and the person does not produce evidence of ever having
7 a driver license or permit issued by another jurisdiction.
8 2. The person is not in compliance with the financial responsibility
9 requirements of chapter 9, article 4 of this title.
10 3. The person is driving a vehicle that is involved in an accident
11 that results in either property damage or injury to or death of another
12 person.
13 C. Except as provided in subsection D of this section, while a peace
14 officer has control of the vehicle the peace officer shall cause the removal
15 and either immobilization or impoundment of the vehicle if the peace officer
16 has probable cause to arrest the driver of the vehicle for a violation of
17 section 4-244, paragraph 34 or section 28-1382 or 28-1383.
18 D. A peace officer shall not cause the removal and either the
19 immobilization or impoundment of a vehicle pursuant to subsection C of this
20 section if all of the following apply:
21 1. The peace officer determines that the vehicle is currently
22 registered and that the driver or the vehicle is in compliance with the
23 financial responsibility requirements of chapter 9, article 4 of this title.
24 2. The spouse of the driver is with the driver at the time of the
25 arrest.
26 3. The peace officer has reasonable grounds to believe that the spouse
27 of the driver:
28 (a) Has a valid driver license.
29 (b) Is not impaired by intoxicating liquor, any drug, a vapor
30 releasing substance containing a toxic substance or any combination of
31 liquor, drugs or vapor releasing substances.
32 (c) Does not have any spirituous liquor in the spouse's body if the
33 spouse is under twenty-one years of age.
34 4. The spouse notifies the peace officer that the spouse will drive
35 the vehicle from the place of arrest to the driver's home or other place of
36 safety.
37 5. The spouse drives the vehicle as prescribed by paragraph 4 of this
38 subsection.
39 E. Except as otherwise provided in this article, a vehicle that is
40 removed and either immobilized or impounded pursuant to subsection A, B or C
41 of this section shall be immobilized or impounded for thirty days. An
42 insurance company does not have a duty to pay any benefits for charges or
43 fees for immobilization or impoundment.
44 F. The owner of a vehicle that is removed and either immobilized or
45 impounded pursuant to subsection A, B or C of this section, the spouse of the

1 owner and each person identified on the department's record with an interest
2 in the vehicle shall be provided with an opportunity for an immobilization or
3 poststorage hearing pursuant to section 28-3514.
4 Sec. 10. Title 41, chapter 12, article 2, Arizona Revised Statutes, is
5 amended by adding section 41-1724, to read:
6 41-1724. Gang and immigration intelligence team enforcement
7 mission fund
8 THE GANG AND IMMIGRATION INTELLIGENCE TEAM ENFORCEMENT MISSION FUND IS
9 ESTABLISHED CONSISTING OF MONIES DEPOSITED PURSUANT TO SECTION 11-1051 AND
10 MONIES APPROPRIATED BY THE LEGISLATURE. THE DEPARTMENT SHALL ADMINISTER THE
11 FUND. MONIES IN THE FUND ARE SUBJECT TO LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION AND SHALL
12 BE USED FOR GANG AND IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AND FOR COUNTY JAIL
13 REIMBURSEMENT COSTS RELATING TO ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION.
14 Sec. 11. Severability, implementation and construction
15 A. If a provision of this act or its application to any person or
16 circumstance is held invalid, the invalidity does not affect other provisions
17 or applications of the act that can be given effect without the invalid
18 provision or application, and to this end the provisions of this act are
19 severable.
20 B. The terms of this act regarding immigration shall be construed to
21 have the meanings given to them under federal immigration law.
22 C. This act shall be implemented in a manner consistent with federal
23 laws regulating immigration, protecting the civil rights of all persons and
24 respecting the privileges and immunities of United States citizens.
25 Sec. 12. Short title
26 This act may be cited as the "Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe
27 Neighborhoods Act".

APPENDIX B: "MY OWN PRIVATE INDIA," JOEL STEIN

My Own Private India
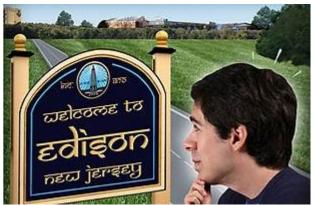By Joel Stein Monday, Jul. 05, 2010

Illustration by John Ueland for TIME

Statement Appended: July 2, 2010

I am very much in favor of immigration everywhere in the U.S. except Edison, N.J. The mostly white suburban town I left when I graduated from high school in 1989 — the town that was called Menlo Park when Thomas Alva Edison set up shop there and was later renamed in his honor — has become home to one of the biggest Indian communities in the U.S., as familiar to people in India as how to instruct stupid Americans to reboot their Internet routers.

My town is totally unfamiliar to me. The Pizza Hut where my busboy friends stole pies for our drunken parties is now an Indian sweets shop with a completely inappropriate roof. The A&P I shoplifted from is now an Indian grocery. The multiplex where we snuck into R-rated movies now shows only Bollywood films and serves samosas. The Italian restaurant that my friends stole cash from as waiters is now Moghul, one of the most famous Indian restaurants in the country. There is an entire generation of white children in Edison who have nowhere to learn crime. (See pictures of Thomas Edison's Menlo Park.)

I never knew how a bunch of people half a world away chose a random town in New Jersey to populate. Were they from some Indian state that got made fun of by all the other Indian states and didn't want to give up that feeling? Are the malls in India that bad? Did we accidentally keep numbering our parkway exits all the way to Mumbai?

I called James W. Hughes, policy-school dean at Rutgers University, who explained that Lyndon Johnson's 1965 immigration law raised immigration caps for non-European countries. LBJ apparently had some weird relationship with Asians in which he liked both inviting them over and going over to Asia to kill them.

After the law passed, when I was a kid, a few engineers and doctors from Gujarat moved to Edison because of its proximity to AT&T, good schools and reasonably priced, if slightly deteriorating, post–WW II housing. For a while, we assumed all Indians were

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geniuses. Then, in the 1980s, the doctors and engineers brought over their merchant cousins, and we were no longer so sure about the genius thing. In the 1990s, the not-as-brilliant merchants brought their even-less-bright cousins, and we started to understand why India is so damn poor.

Eventually, there were enough Indians in Edison to change the culture. At which point my townsfolk started calling the new Edisonians "dot heads." One kid I knew in high school drove down an Indian-dense street yelling for its residents to "go home to India." In retrospect, I question just how good our schools were if "dot heads" was the best racist insult we could come up with for a group of people whose gods have multiple arms and an elephant nose. (See TIME's special report "The Making of America: Thomas Edison.")

Unlike some of my friends in the 1980s, I liked a lot of things about the way my town changed: far better restaurants, friends dorky enough to play Dungeons & Dragons with me, restaurant owners who didn't card us because all white people look old. But sometime after I left, the town became a maze of charmless Indian strip malls and housing developments. Whenever I go back, I feel what people in Arizona talk about: a sense of loss and anomie and disbelief that anyone can eat food that spicy.

To figure out why it bothered me so much, I talked to a friend of mine from high school, Jun Choi, who just finished a term as mayor of Edison. Choi said that part of what I don't like about the new Edison is the reduction of wealth, which probably would have been worse without the arrival of so many Indians, many of whom, fittingly for a town called Edison, are inventors and engineers. And no place is immune to change. In the 11 years I lived in Manhattan's Chelsea district, that area transformed from a place with gangs and hookers to a place with gays and transvestite hookers to a place with artists and no hookers to a place with rich families and, I'm guessing, mistresses who live a lot like hookers. As Choi pointed out, I was a participant in at least one of those changes. We left it at that.

Unlike previous waves of immigrants, who couldn't fly home or Skype with relatives, Edison's first Indian generation didn't quickly assimilate (and give their kids Western names). But if you look at the current Facebook photos of students at my old high school, J.P. Stevens, which would be very creepy of you, you'll see that, while the population seems at least half Indian, a lot of them look like the Italian Guidos I grew up with in the 1980s: gold chains, gelled hair, unbuttoned shirts. In fact, they are called Guindians. Their assimilation is so wonderfully American that if the Statue of Liberty could shed a tear, she would. Because of the amount of cologne they wear.

TIME responds: *We sincerely regret that any of our readers were upset by this humor column of Joel Stein's. It was in no way intended to cause offense.*

Joel Stein responds: *I truly feel stomach-sick that I hurt so many people. I was trying to explain how, as someone who believes that immigration has enriched American life and my hometown in particular, I was shocked that I could feel a tiny bit uncomfortable with*

my changing town when I went to visit it. If we could understand that reaction, we'd be better equipped to debate people on the other side of the immigration issue.
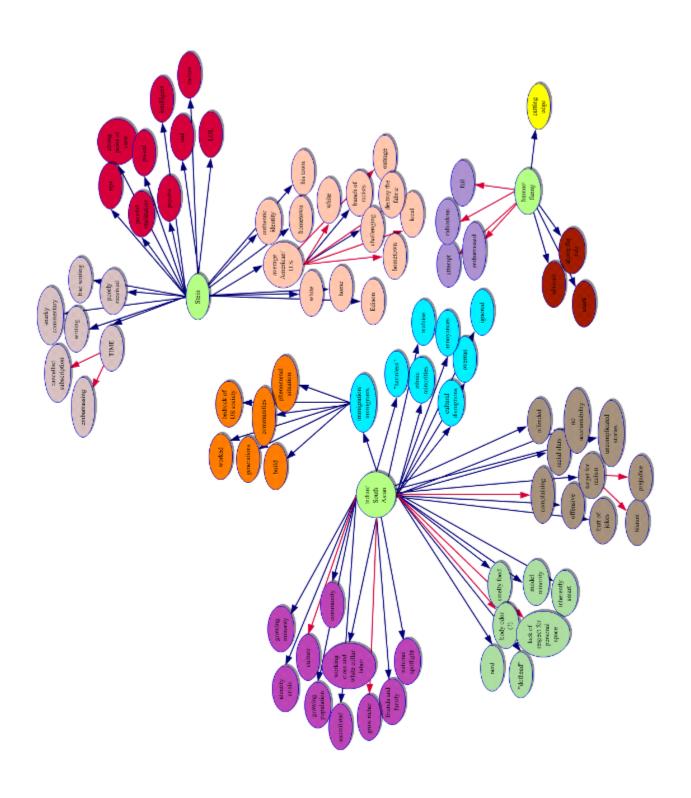
APPENDIX C: LIST OF BLOG POSTS IN RESPONSE TO JOEL STEIN

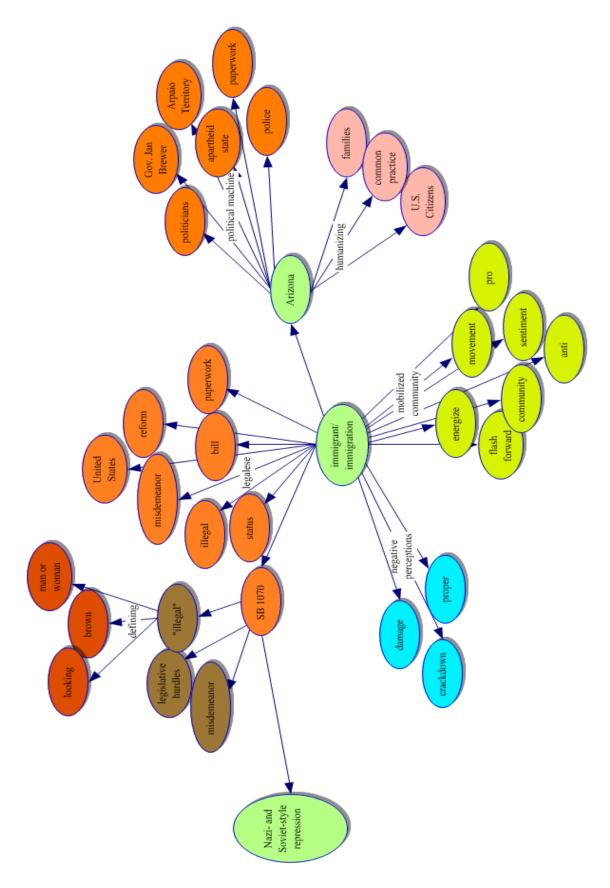| Number	Blog Title	Blogger	Blog Site	Original Post Date
1	"An unfunny Joel Stein walks into some cow dung"	Anna	Sepia Mutiny	June 29, 2010
2	"No HeeHee, Ha Ha, for me Joel Stein"	Samhita	Feministing	June 29, 2010
3	"Wondrously, Indians do not find Joel Stein's droll humor about their poverty, cologne to be charming"	Chris Rovzar	New York Magazine	June 30, 2010
4	"Curry Bear's thoughts on Joel Stein's article about Indians in Edison"	Curry Bear	Currybear	June 28, 2010
5	"An open letter to Joel Stein"	Robbie S	Bangla Nation	June 28, 2010
6	"TIME columnist dislikes Indians; Indians not a fan of Joel Stein either"	Sanjay	8asians	June 29, 2010
7	"Joel Stein in Edison, NJ: poor taste (needs more curry?)"	Anand Sarwate	Ergodicity	June 29, 2010
8	"What's Stein got against Indians?"	Goutam Jois	Blackbooklegal	June 30, 2010
9	"*TIME Magazine* thinks insulting South Asians is funny"	Prerna Lal	Change.org	June 30, 2010
10	"CONTROVERSY: An Edisonian responds to Time's Joel Stein"	Radhika Marya	SAJA Forum	June 29, 2010

APPENDIX D: LIST OF BLOG POSTS IN RESPONSE TO SB 1070

Number	Blog Title	Blogger	Blog Site	Original Post Date
1	"Arizona"	Somfolnalco	Documenting Me	April 20, 2010
2	"SB 1070 National Day of Action"	Prerna Lal	Change.org	May 29, 2010
3	"SB 1070 and Arizona"	El Random Hero	Just a Random Hero	April 14, 2010
4	"Examples of arrests with sb1070"	Dee	Immigrationmexicanamerican	May 20, 2010
5	"Open letter to President Obama re: HB1070 Racial Profiling Bill"	Dee	Immigrationmexicanamerican	April 23, 2010
6	"What does an illegal alien look like?"	Di	My life as an alien	May 15, 2010
7	"Bleak Friday?"	Postgraduado	Postgraduado-migrantheadlines	April 26, 2010
8	"Do you look like an 'illegal immigrant'?"	Latino Politics Blogger	Latino Politics Blog	April 14, 2010
9	"SB 1070: Racial Politics and the Boycott"	Manuél	Maneegee	April 29, 2010
10	"TERRORIST ATTACK!"	Lou	Maneegee	April 23, 2010
11	"Why I stopped blogging regularly"	Manuél	Maneegee	July 21, 2010

12	"Arizona, the Land of Wonder… I wonder how long I could go without being arrested"	Laura Martinez	Lauramartinez	April 25, 2010
13	"How knowledgeable are we about immigration issues?"	Gregory Tejeda	Southchicagoan	April 30, 2010
14	"Will there someday be a 'last Latino' in Arizona?"	Gregory Tejeda	Southchicagoan	May 29, 2010
15	"Police knew better than nativists where we should be on immigration reform"	Gregory Tejeda	Southchicagoan	July 12, 2010
16	"Arizona's new immigration law affects us all"	Vivek	Sepia Mutiny	May 24, 2010

APPENDIX E: EXAMPLE OF WORD MAP FROM STEIN BLOG

FEMINISTING.COM

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APPENDIX F: EXAMPLE OF WORD MAP OF SB 1070 BLOG DOCUMENTING

ME

APPENDIX G: ANALYTICAL MATRIX

General Information
Category:
Number:
Blog Title:
Blogger:
Blog Site:
Date:

Themes

Identity Positionings

Structural	Trans-historical/spatial	Intergroup Representational

Discursive Relations
1. Relational Moves
    a. Intragroup
    b. With Stein as an Other
    c. With white America
    d. With other communities
2. Are there signs that the text producer anticipates more than one sort of audience?
3. Is the text produced individually or collectively? What are the discursive effects?

Strategies
1. Are words being used in any new ways or demonstrating variable or changing meanings as a focus of hegemonic struggle?
2. Are there reinscriptions of dominant discourses?
3. How are presuppositions cued in the text?
4. Are there instances of
    a. irony?
    b. sarcasm?
    c. humor?
5. Are there other rhetorical modes being used to construct specific arguments?

Intertextual References
1. How are other texts incorporated and contextualized in the representing discourse?
2. What intertextual relations are drawn upon for the wording in the text?

APPENDIX H: CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF JOEL STEIN BLOG RESPONSES

Table 1

1	ruined, overrun, blame, assimilate, scapegoats, less resources, xenophobic, hate speech, rude new aliens, anti-immigrant sentiment
2	changing nature, evolution, descendant, waves, generations, predecessors, ever-changing
3	exclusionary, elitist, favoring educated, based on merit, unskilled, strict quotas, deportation, registration
4	opportunities, reciprocation, benefits, experience, community, bedrock, build, worked, boom periods, Asians, diverse

Table 2

1	we, community, Mutineers, readers, stand united, my fellow
2	community, $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ generation, links to India, new, long history, second gens, we, entire range, diaspora, American born kids
3	South Asian, my fellow Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, and Bangladeshis
4	foreigners, strangers, aliens, other-ed
5	taking over, overrun, ruined, influx, infested
6	immigration, immigrants, subjugated, scapegoats, abuse, beaten up, shot at, hate speech, targets of violent racist attacks
7	incomprehensibly poor, IMF policies
8	depressed land prices, white flight, degeneration, and underpaid labor
9	trashy, poverty, less educated, net drag to the American economy, source of embarrassment for professional skilled Indian-Americans
10	grow richer, hard working, honest living, tax-paying
11	convenience stores, doughnut shops, hotel properties, motels, gas stations, restaurants, drive cabs, Subways, newspaper stands, medical and engineering

degrees, hospitality business, H-1B workers

12 American, citizen, right, born, American-born

13 ignorant and lazy, 'dothead,' body odor, lack of respect for personal space, diapers

14 meditation, Gandhians, worship cows, red dots, garam masala, curry, tea, paan, cricket, Bollywood

15 uber-race of doctors and engineers, scientists, nerd, inherently smart, good IQs, brilliant, model minority

16 easy to pick on, butt of jokes, avoid confrontation, considerate, wouldn't complain, 'passive,' polite, quiet, silent, turn the other cheek

17 take a punch, crybabies, American victim mentality, react differently, overreacting

18 outraged, up in arms, nobody's fool, offended, seething mad, not amused

19 cancelling their subscriptions, flex muscle, boycotting

20 South Americans, Jews, Blacks, or Latinos, Middle Easterners, Africans, African Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, all ethnic groups

21 Assimilation, didn't assimilate, American culture, local population, 'white' culture, requirement, dominant narrative, American customs

22 growing minority, national spotlight, U.S. military

23 hyphenation, duality, integration, coexist, give-and-take, didn't assimilate, meeting place

24 Guindians, gelled-up blown-back hair, Jersey culture, gold chains, slick hair

Table 3

Keyword(s): race, racism, humor, and/or satire

1 intent, offensive, outraged, sarcastic, not amused, appalling, good sport, laugh, appalled, poor stereotypes, insults, intolerance, misguided, sinister, ignorant, charming, hilarious, unoffensive

Table 4

Keyword(s): America(n) and/or U.S.

1 immigrants, hypocrite, impose, Afghanistan, glorified false version, ever-changing, slaves, killed, reservation

2 developed, extremely wealthy

Table 5

Keyword(s): Edison

1 Indians, Desis, South Asian, culture, enriching, yoga, Bollywood, culturally rich, incredibly diverse environment

2 Indians, Desis, South Asian, helped, decrease crime, majority of businesses, gentrification, best places, contribution, community, progress, highly rated schools and hospitals

3 Jersey roots, Jersey self, love it or leave it, hometown, nostalgic, Indian, imprint of India, my, family, grew up

Table 6

Keyword(s): America(n), U.S., and Edison

1 white

2 immigration, ever-changing, predecessors, descendant, demographic shift, Manifest Destiny, long history, boom periods, evolution

3 immigration, immigration hub, communities, incredibly diverse, diaspora, bedrock of US society, build

Table 7

Keyword(s): Stein

1 intolerance, arrogance, xenophobic, racist, waspy, Jewish ethnicity, immigrant, family tree,

2 you, him

Table 8

Keyword(s): TIME

1 racist diatribe, cancelled subscription

APPENDIX I: CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF SB 1070 BLOG RESPONSES

Table 1

Keyword(s): SB 1070, bill, law, and/or legislation

1 immigrant, citizen, European descendents, brown, status, El Salvador, Latinos, Asian, Xicano, ethnicity, race, Mexican

2 racial profiling, KKK, White Supremacist, bigots, hatred, brown menace, warped views, closed-minded, draconian, xenophobic, racist, proxy, cover up, 'drug cartel' excuse

3 immigration, friends, relatives, family reunion, school, taxes, jobs, musicians, school district, people, child, teens, life

4 frustrated, crying, outrage, feeling worse, fears, suffering, depressing, fatigue, paralyzing, unhealthy

5 real intent, illegal(s), racism, racial profiling, federal, local, federales, risk, Arizona

6 deported, jeopardy, wrongful death/abuses, deplorable, detention center, tent city, unsanitary

Table 2

Keyword(s): ("Illegal") immigrants, immigration, Latinos, and/or Mexicans

1 vague, abuse, discourage, deport, reduce

2 stamping out, queue jumpers, bleeding government resources, violated a law

3 China, Africa, Romania, Belgium, Central America, Russia, Spanish, Asian, Korean, Vietnamese

Table 3

Keyword(s): Immigrants, immigration, Latinos, and/or Mexicans

1 status, paperwork, police officers, misdemeanor, enforce, laws, state, Sheriff Arpaio, overstayed, federal, jurisdiction, law enforcement types

2 families, children, grandchildren, people, citizen

3 masked volunteer henchmen, abuse, state-sponsored harassment, punished

4 developed countries, economic system, unfair trade policies, underdevelopment, NAFTA

5 working class, low wage, back breaking

6 living mestizaje, ancestors, land, home, homeland, hometown, culture, ancestral

7 poor, criminal, blue collar, darker skin, dangerous, illegal, Latino

---

Table 4

Keyword(s): Latino/Mexican immigrants/immigration

---

1 my communidad, community, we, our, Chicano agenda, brown, brown-skinned

2 father, relatives, great grandchildren, community, legacy, values, tough, proud

3 crackdown, border, questioned, deportation, fear, inquiring, papers, hassle, abused, citizen

4 social problems, xenophobia, 'their kind,' alien, 'brown people,' unwelcome

5 great numbers, significant numbers, elevated, predominant, international character, majority

6 fought, work hard, legacy, community, productive members, public servants, businesses, business interests

7 energize, movement, protesters, fight, 'pro,' power of the streets, community organizing, ground work, power of the computer, lobbying, reform

---

Table 5

Keyword(s): Racist and/or racial profiling

---

1 legalizes, immigration documentation, green light, law, acceptable, 'drug cartel' excuse

2 outsiders, infiltrated, attack

Table 6

Keyword(s): America(n), U.S., and/or Arizona

1   white, oppressors, fascism, apartheid state, police

2   white, they, narrow point of view, warped views, enclave, misguided, embarrassed, draconian

3   politicians, police, governor, legislation, law, Democrats, Republicans, political actions, government, courts, enforce, patrol

4   proof, question, inferior, real, citizen

5   centuries, growth, change, tradition, dynamic border history

6   Canadian snowbirds, welfare kings/queens, retirees

Table 7

Keyword(s): Police and/or cops

1   equal opportunity shooters, racial profiling, predatory, villains, corrupt

2   approving, comfortable, professionally, courteously, capable, serving

3   know/understand, free reign, aware, unpredictable, thought

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